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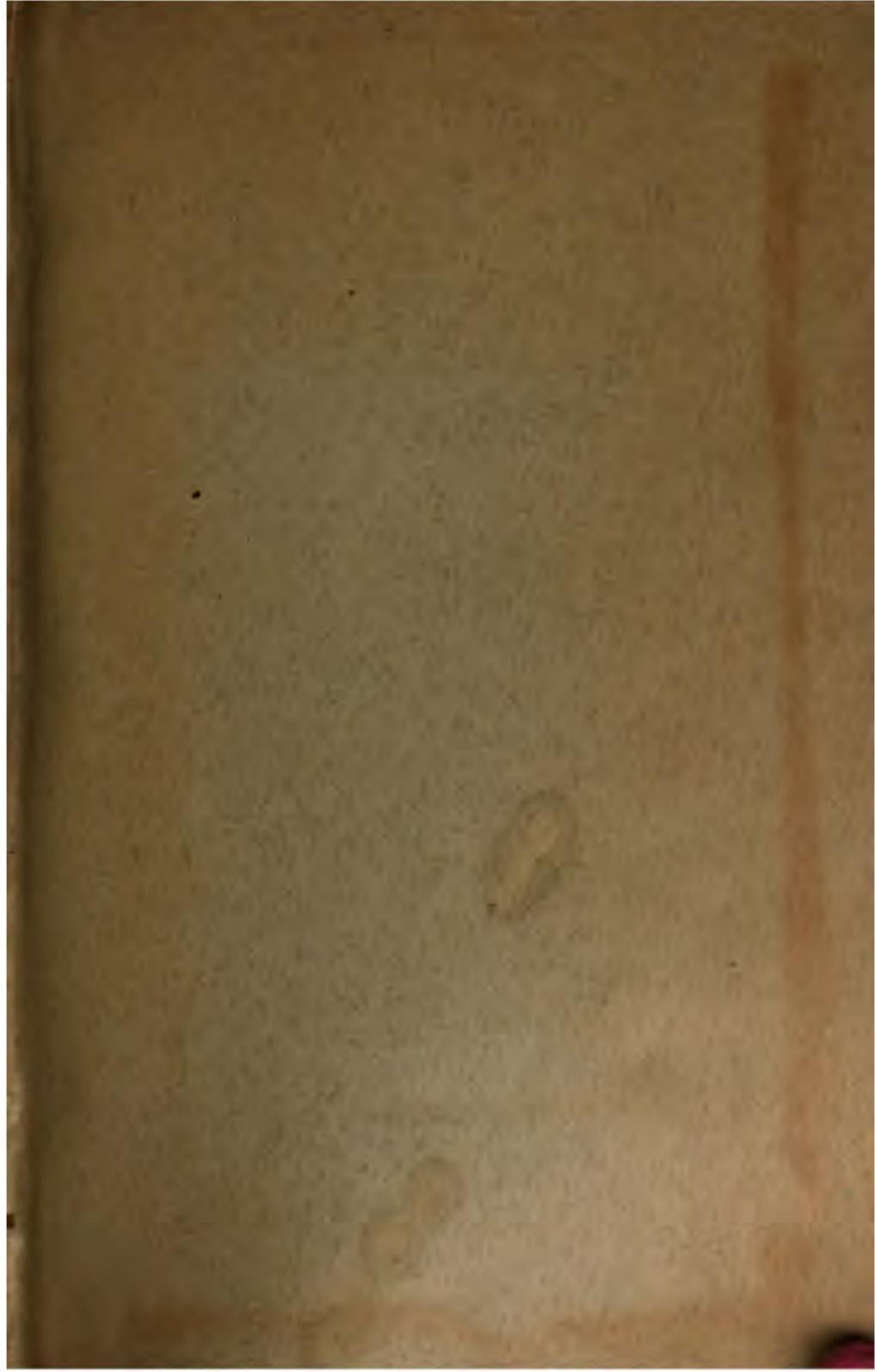
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE LIFE  
OF  
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

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*Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum fit nobis exemplum.  
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit.*  
QUINTIL. Institut. l. x. i.

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Gift of  
William Fairbanks

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF  
 The LIFE of  
**M. TULLIUS CICERO.**

## SECT. VI.

CICERO's return was, what he himself truly calls it, *the beginning of a new life* to him [*a*]; which was to be governed by new maxims, and a new kind of policy; yet so as not to forfeit his old character. He had been made to feel in what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependence was to be placed on the help and support of his Aristocratical friends: Pompey had served him on this important occasion very sincerely, and with the concurrence also of Caesar; so as to make it a point

A. Urb. 696.

Cic. 50.

Coll.

P. CORNELIUS

LENTULUS

SPINTER,

Q. CÆCILIIUS

METELLUS

NEPOS.

[*a*] Alterius vite quoddam initium ordimur. [ad Att. 4. 1.] In another place, he calls his restoration to his former dignity, *αναγέννησις*, [ad Att. 6. 6.] or a new birth; a word borrowed probably from the Pythagorean school,

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and applied afterwards by the sacred Writers to the renovation of our nature by Baptism, as well as our restoration to life after death in the general resurrection. Matt. xix. 29. Tit. iii. 5.

B

of

A. Urb. 696. of gratitude, as well as prudence, to be more ob-  
 Cic. 50. servant of them than he had hitherto been : the  
 Coss. Senate, on the other hand, with the Magistrates  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,  
 Q. CÆCILIIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

and the honest of all ranks, were zealous in his cause ; and the *Consul Lentulus* above all seemed to make it *the sole end and glory of his administration* [b]. This uncommon consent of opposite parties in promoting his restoration, drew upon him *a variety of obligations, which must needs often clash and interfere with each other* ; and which it was his part still to manage so, as to make them consistent with his honor, his safety, his private, and his public duty : these were to be the springs and motives of his *new life* ; the hinges on which his future conduct was to turn ; and to do justice severally to them all, and assign to each *its proper weight and measure of influence*, required his utmost skill and address [c].

THE day after his arrival, *on the fifth of September*, the Consuls summoned the Senate, to give him an opportunity of paying his thanks to them in public for their late services ; where, after a general profession of his obligations to them all, he made his particular acknowledgments to each Magistrate by name, *to the Consuls* ; *the Tribunes* ; *the Praetors* : he addressed himself *to the Tribunes*, before *the Praetors* ; not for the dignity of their office, for in that they were inferior, but for their greater authority in making laws ; and consequently, their greater merit in carrying

[b] *Hoc specimen virtutis, hoc indicium animi, hoc lumen consulatus sui fore putavit, si me mihi, si meis, si Reipub. reddidisset.— Post red. in Sen. 4.*

[c] *Sed quia saepe concurrit, propter aliquorum de me meritorum inter ipsos conten-*

*tiones, ut eodem tempore in omnes verear ne vix possum gratus videri. Sed ego hoc meis ponderibus examinabo, non solum quid cuique debeam, sed etiam quid cuiusque intersit, & quid a me cujusque tempus poscat. Pro Plancio. 32.*

his

his law into effect. The number of his private friends was too great to make it possible for him to enumerate or thank them all; so that he confined himself to the Magistrates, with exception only to Pompey [d], whom for the eminence of his character, though at present only a private man, he took care to distinguish by a personal address and compliment. But as Lentulus was the first in office, and had served him with the greatest affection, so he gives him *the first share of his praise*; and in the overflowing of his gratitude styles him, *the Parent and the God of his life and fortunes* [e]. The next day he paid his thanks likewise to the people, in a speech from the *Rostra*; where he dwelt chiefly on the same topics which he had used in the Senate, celebrating the particular merits and services of his principal friends, especially of Pompey; whom he declares to be the *greatest man for virtue, wisdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live; and that he owed more to him on this occasion, than it was even lawful almost, for one man to owe to another* [f].

[d] Cum perpaucis nominatim gratias egisset, quod omnes enumerari nullo modo possent, scelus autem esset quenquam praeteriri.—ib. 30.

Hodierno autem die nominatim a me Magistratibus statui gratias esse agendas, & de privatissimi, qui pro salute mea municipia, coloniasque adiisset.—Post red. in Sen. 12.

[e] Princeps P. Lentulus, parentis ac Deus nostrae vite, fortunae, &c. ib. 4. It was a kind of maxim among the ancients; that to do good to a mortal, was to be a God to a mortal. *Deus est mortali, ju-*

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coll.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINther,  
Q. CAECILIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS.

*vare mortalem.* [Plin. Hist. 2. 7.] Thus Cicero, as he calls Lentulus here his God, so on other occasions gives the same appellation to *Plate-*  
*Dens ille noster Plato*—[ad Att. 4. 16.] to express the highest sense of the benefits received from them.

[f] Cn. Pompeius, vir omnium qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, sapientia, ac gloria.—Huic ego homini, Quirites, tantum debeo; quantum hominem homini debere vix fas est. Post red. ad Quir. 7.

A. Urb. 696. BOTH these speeches are still extant, and a passage or two from each will illustrate the temper  
 Cic. 50. and disposition in which he returned: in speaking  
 Coll. to the Senate, after a particular recital of the  
 P. CORNELIUS vices of his friends, he adds; "as I have a plea-  
 LENTULUS  
 SPINther, Q. CECILIUS  
 METELLUS  
 NEROS. " sure in enumerating these, so I willingly pass  
 " over in silence what others wickedly acted a-  
 " gainst me: it is not my present business to re-  
 " member injuries; which if it were in my power  
 " to revenge, I should chuse to forget; my life  
 " shall be applied to other purposes; to repay  
 " the good offices of those who have deserved it  
 " of me; to hold fast the friendships which have  
 " been tried as it were in the fire; to wage war  
 " with declared enemies; to pardon my timo-  
 " rous, nor yet expose my treacherous friends;  
 " and to balance the misery of my exile by the  
 " dignity of my return—[g]."  
 To the people  
 he observes; "that there were four sorts of e-  
 " nemies, who concurred to oppress him: the  
 " first, who, out of hatred to the Republic,  
 " were mortal enemies to him for having saved  
 " it: the second, who, under a false pretence  
 " of friendship, infamously betrayed him: the  
 " third, who, through their inability to obtain  
 " what he had acquired, were envious of his  
 " dignity: the fourth, who, though by office  
 " they ought to have been the guardians of the  
 " Republic, bartered away his safety, the peace  
 " of the City, and the dignity of the Empire,  
 " which were committed to their trust. I will  
 " take my revenge, says he, on each of them,  
 " agreeably to the different manner of their pro-  
 " vocation; on the bad Citizens, by defending the  
 " Republic strenuously; on my perfidious friends,  
 " by never trusting them again; on the envious,  
 " by continuing my steady pursuit of virtue and

[g] Post red. in Sen. 9.

"glory;

" glory ; on those Merchants of Provinces, by  
" calling them home to give an account of their  
" administration : but I am more sollicitous how  
" to acquit my self of my obligations to you, for  
" your great services, than to resent the injuries  
" and cruelties of my enemies : for it is much  
" easier to revenge an injury than to repay a  
" kindness, and much less trouble to get the  
" better of bad men than to equal the good [b]."

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINTER,  
Q. CÆCILIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS..

This affair being happily over, the Senate had leisure again to attend to public business; and there was now a case before them of a very urgent nature, which required a present remedy; *an unusual scarcity of corn and provisions* in the City, which had been greatly increased by the late concourse of people from all parts of *Italy*, on Cicero's account, and was now felt very severely by the poorer Citizens: They had born it with much patience while Cicero's return was in agitation; comforting themselves with a notion, that if he was once restored, plenty would be restored with him; but finding the one at last effected without the other, they began to grow clamorous, and unable to endure their hunger any longer.

CLODUS could not let slip so fair an opportunity of exciting some new disturbance, and creating fresh trouble to Cicero, by charging the calamity to his score: for this end he employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the streets, making a lamentable outcry for bread; and calling upon Cicero to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them; as if he had got some hidden store or magazine of corn, secreted from common use [i]. He sent

[b]. Post red. ad Quir. 9. ad imperitorum animos inci-  
[i] Qui facultate oblatâ, tandis, renovaturum te illa-  
funesta

A. Urb. 696. sent his mob also to the Theatre, in which the  
 Cic. 50. *Praetor Cæcilius*, Cicero's particular friend, was  
 exhibiting the *Apollinarian shows*, where they raised  
 such a terror that they drove the whole company out of it: then, in the same tumultuous  
 manner, they marched to the Temple of CONCORD, whither Metellus had summoned the Senate; but  
 happening to meet with Metellus in the way, they presently attacked him with volleys of stones, with some of which they wounded even the Consul himself, who, for the greater security, immediately adjourned the Senate into the *Capitol*. They were led on by two desperate Ruffians, their usual Commanders, M. Lollius and M. Sergius, the first of whom had in Clodius's Tribune undertaken the task of killing Pompey; the second had been Captain of the Guard to Catiline, and was probably of his family [k]: but Clodius, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himself at their head in person, and pursued the Senate into the *Capitol*, in order to disturb their debates, and prevent their providing any relief for the present evil; and above all, to excite the meaner sort to some violence against Cicero.

funesta latrocinia ob annonæ causam putavisti. Pro dom. 5.

Quid? puerorum illa concursatio nocturna? num a te ipso instituta me frumentum flagitabant? Quasi vero ego aut rei frumentariae præfuissem, aut compressum aliquod frumentum tenerem. Ib. 6.

[4] Cum homines ad Theatrum primo, deinde ad Senatum concurrissent impulso Clodii. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Concursus est ad Templum Concordiae factus, Senatum illuc vocante Metello — qui

sunt homines a Q. Metello, in Senatu palam nominati, a quibus ille se lapidibus appetitum, etiam percussum esse dixit.—Quis est iste Lollius? Qui te Tribuno pleb.—Cn. Pompeium interficiendum depoposcit.—Quis est Sergius? armiger Catilinæ, Ripator tui corporis, signifer seditionis—his atque hujusmodi duabus, cum tu in annonæ caritate in Consules, in Senatum — repentinus impetus comparares.—Pro dom. 5.

But

But he soon found to his great disappointment, A. Urb. 696.  
 that Cicero was too strong in the affections of the Cic. 50.  
 City to be hurt again so soon: for the people Coll.  
 themselves saw through his design, and were so p. CORNELIUS  
 provoked at it, that they turned universally against LENTULUS  
 him, and drove him out of the field with all his SPINther,  
 mercenaries; when perceiving that Cicero was not Q. CÆCILIIUS  
 present in the Senate, they called out upon him by METELLUS  
 name with one voice, and would not be quieted till NEPOS.  
 he came in person to undertake their cause, and pro-  
 pose some expedient for their relief. He had kept  
 his house all that day, and resolved to do so, till he  
 saw the issue of the tumult; but when he under-  
 stood that Clodius was repulsed, and that his pre-  
 sence was universally required by the Consuls, the  
 Senate, and the whole people, he came to the Senate  
 House, in the midst of their debates, and being pre-  
 sently asked his opinion, proposed, that Pompey  
 should be entreated to undertake the Province of re-  
 storing plenty to the City; and to enable him to exe-  
 cute it with effect, should be invested with an abso-  
 lute power over all the public stores and corn-rents  
 of the Empire through all the Provinces: the motion  
 was readily accepted, and a vote immediately passed,  
 that a law should be prepared for that purpose and  
 offered to the people [1]. All the Consular Senators

B 4

were

[1] Ego vero domi me te-  
 nui, quamdiu turbulentum  
 tempus fuit—cum servos tu-  
 os ad rapinam, ad bonorum  
 caedem paratos — armatos e-  
 tiam in Capitolium tecum ve-  
 nisse confabat — scio me do-  
 mi manuisse — posteaquam  
 mihi nunciatum est, populum  
 Romanum in Capitolium—  
 convenisse, ministros autem  
 scelerum tuorum perterritos,  
 partim amissis gladiis, partim  
 excepitis diffugisse; veni non

solum sine ullis copiis, ac ma-  
 nu, verum etiam cum paucis  
 amicis.—lb. 3.

Ego denique — a populo  
 Romano universo, qui tum  
 in Capitolium convenerat,  
 cum illo die minus valerem,  
 noninatim in Senatum voca-  
 bar. Veni exspectatus; mul-  
 tis jam sententiis dictis, ro-  
 gatus sum sententiam; dixi  
 Reipub. saluberrimam, mihi  
 necessariam. Ib. 7.

Factum

A. Urb. 696. were absent, except Messala and Afranius: they pre-  
 Cic. 50. tended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cause  
 Coss. was their unwillingness to concur in granting this  
 P. CORNELIUS commission to Pompey. The Consuls carried  
 LENTULUS SPINther, the decree with them into the Rostra, and read it  
 Q. CÆCILII publicly to the people; who on the mention of Ci-  
 METELLUS NEPOS. cero's name, in which it was drawn, gave an uni-  
 versal shout of applause; upon which, at the desire  
 of all the Magistrates, Cicero made a speech to them,  
 setting forth the reasons and necessity of the de-  
 crec, and giving them the comfort of a speedy  
 relief, from the vigilance and authority of Pom-  
 pey [m]. The absence however of the Consular  
 Senators gave a handle to reflect upon the act,  
 as not free and valid, but extorted by fear, and  
 without the intervention of the principal members;  
 but the very next day, in a fuller House, when all  
 those Senators were present, and a motion was made  
 to revoke the decree, it was unanimously rejected [n];  
 and the Consuls were ordered to draw up a law  
 conformable to it, by which the whole administra-  
 tion of the corn and provisions of the Republic was  
 to be granted to Pompey for five years, with a power  
 of choosing fifteen Lieutenants to assist him in it.

THIS furnished Clodius with fresh matter of  
 abuse upon Cicero: he charged him with ingrati-  
 tude, and the desertion of the Senate, which had

Factum est S. C. in meam  
 sententiam, ut cum Pompeio  
 ageretur, ut eam rem susci-  
 peret, lexque ferretur. Ad  
 Att. 4. 1.

[m] Cum abessent Consu-  
 lares, quod tuto se negarent  
 posse sententiam dicere, pre-  
 ter Messalam & Afranium.  
 Ibid.

Quo S. C. recitato, cum  
 continuo more hoc insulso &  
 novo plausum, meo nomine

recitando dedisset, habui con-  
 cionem.—Ibid.

[n] At enim liberum Se-  
 natus judicium propter me-  
 tum non fuit. Pro dom. 4.

Postridie Senatus frequens,  
 & omnes Consulares nihil  
 Pompeio postulanti negarunt.  
 Ad Att. 4. 1.

Cum omnes adessent, cer-  
 tum est referri de inducendo  
 S. C.; ab universo Senatu re-  
 clamatum est. Pro dom. 4.  
 always

*always been firm to him, in order to pay his court to A. Urb. 696  
a man, who had betrayed him: and that he was so  
firmly, as not to know his own strength and credit in  
the City, and how able he was to maintain his au-  
thority without the help of Pompey [e]. But Cice-  
ro defended himself by saying, " that they must  
not expect to play the same game upon him  
now that he was restored, with which they  
had ruined him before, by raising jealousies  
between him and Pompey: that he had smart-  
ed for it too severely already, to be caught a-  
gain in the same trap; that in decreeing this  
commission to Pompey, he had discharged  
both his private obligations to a friend and his  
public duty to the State; that those who  
grudged all extraordinary power to Pompey,  
must grudge the victories, the triumphs, the  
accession of dominion and revenue, which their  
former grants of this sort had procured to the  
Empire; that the success of those shewed,  
what fruit they were to expect from this [p]."*

*BUT what authority severer this law conferred  
on Pompey, his creatures were not yet satisfied  
with it; so that Messius, one of the Tribuns,  
proposed another, to give him the additional  
power of raising what money, fleets, and armies he*

A. Urb. 696  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINther,  
Q. CÆCILIUSt  
METELLUS  
NEPOS..

[e] *Tunc es ille, inquit, quo Senatus carere non po-  
tuit?—quo restituto, Senatus auctoritatem restitutam puta-  
bamus? quam primum adve-  
nientia prodidisti. Ib. 2.*

*Nescit quantum auctoritate  
valeat, quas res gererit, qua  
dignitate sit restitutus. Cur  
enrat eum a quo deservit est?  
Ib. XI.*

[p] *Definante homines iſ-  
deas machinis sperare me re-*

*stitutum posse labefactari, qui-  
bus antea statim perculerant  
—data merces est erroris mei  
magna, ut me non solum pi-  
geat stultitiae meæ, sed etiam  
pudeat. Ib. XI.*

*Ca. Pompeio — maxima  
terra marique bella extra or-  
dinem esse communis: qua-  
rum rerum si quem peniteat,  
eum vistorie populi Romani  
necessio est pacificare. Ib. 8.*

*thoughts*

A. Urb. 696. thought fit; with a greater command through all the Provinces, than their proper Governors had in each. Cicero's law seemed modest in comparison of Messius's: Pompey pretended to be content with the first, whilst all his dependents were pushing for the last; they expected that Cicero would come over to them; but he continued silent, nor would stir a step farther; for his affairs were still in such a state, as obliged him to act with caution, and to manage both the Senate and the men of power: the conclusion was, that Cicero's law was received by all parties, and Pompey named him for his first Lieutenant, declaring that he should consider him as a second self, and act nothing without his advice [q]. Cicero accepted the employment; on condition that he might be at liberty to use or resign it at pleasure, as he found it convenient to his affairs [r]: but he soon after quitted it to his Brother, and chose to continue in the City; where he had the pleasure to see the end of his law effectually answered; for the credit of Pompey's name immediately reduced the price of victuals in the Markets; and his vigor and diligence in prosecuting the affair soon established a general plenty.

CICERO was restored to his former dignity, but not to his former fortunes; nor was any satisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his

[q] Legem Consules conscriperunt—alteram Messius. qua omnia pecuniae dat potestatem, et adjungit classem & exercitum, & maius imperium in provinciis, quam sit eorum, qui eas obtinent. Illa nostra lex Consularis nunc modesta videtur, haec Messii non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit; Familiares hanc. Consulare aduce Favonio fremunt, nos tacemus;

& eo magis quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc Pontifices responderunt.—

Ille legatos quindecim cum postularet, me principem nominavit, & ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit.— Ad Att. 4. 1.

[r] Ego me a Pompeio legari ita sum passus, ut nulla re impedirer. quod ne, si vellem, mihi esset integrum.— Ib. 2.

houses

houses and estates : a full restitution indeed had been decreed, but was reserved to his return ; which came now before the Senate to be considered and settled by public authority, where it met still with great obstruction. The chief difficulty was about his *Palatin house* ; which he valued above all the rest, and which Clodius for that reason had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably ; by demolishing the Fabric, and dedicating a *Temple upon the area to the Goddess Liberty* : where, to make his work the more complete, he pulled down also the adjoining *portico of Catullus*, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with his Temple ; and by blending the public with private property, and *consecrating the whole to Religion*, might make it impossible to separate or restore any part to Cicero ; since a consecration, legally performed, made the thing consecrated unapplicable ever after to any private use.

THIS portico was built, as has been said, on the spot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was publicly demolished, for the treason of its master ; and it was Clodius's design to join Cicero's to it under the same denomination ; as the perpetual memorial of a disgrace and punishment inflicted by the people [s]. When he had finished the portico therefore, and annexed his Temple to it, which took up but a small part, *scarce a tenth*, of Cicero's house, he left the rest of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleasure upon it, as had been usual in such cases ; where, as it has been observed, he was prosecuting a particular interest, as well as indulging his malice in obstructing the restitution of it to Cicero.

[s] Ut domus M. Tullii publice constituta conjuncta Ciceronis cum domo Fulvii esse videatur. Pro dom. 38.  
Flacci ad memoriam poense

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINther.  
Q. CÆCILIIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS.

A. Urb. 696. THE affair was to be determined by the college  
 Cie. <sup>50<sup>a</sup> of Priests, who were the Judges in all cases relating  
 to religion: for the Senate could only make  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS a provisional decree, that if the Priests discharged  
 SPINther, the ground from the service of religion, then the Consuls  
 Q. CÆCILIIUS METELLUS NEPOS. should take an estimate of the damage, and make  
 a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public charge, so as to restore it to Cicero in the condition in which he left it [1]. The Priests therefore of all orders were called together on the last of September, to hear this cause, which Cicero pleaded in person before them: they were men of the first dignity and families in the Republic; and there never was, as Cicero tells us, so full an appearance of them in any cause, since the foundation of the City: he reckons up nineteen by name; a great part of whom were of Consular rank [2]. His first care, before he entered into the merits of the question, was to remove the prejudices, which his enemies had been laboring to infill, on the account of his late conduct in favor of Pompey, by explaining the motives, and shewing the necessity of it; contriving at the same time to turn the odium on the other side, by running over the history of Clodius's Tribune, and painting all its violences in the most lively colors; but the question on which the cause singly turned, was about the efficacy of the pretended consecration of the house, and the dedication of the Temple: to shew the nullity therefore of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the very foundation of it, and prove Clodius's Tribune to be original-</sup>

[1] Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream præclaras habebimus: superficiem Consules ex S. C. settinabunt.—  
 Ad Att. 4. 1.

[2] Nego unquam post sa-

cra constituta, quorum eadem est antiquitas, que ipsius urbis, ulla de re, ne de capite quidem. Virginum Vestalium, tam frequens collegium judicatio. De Harusp. resp. 6, 7.  
 “ ly

“ ly null and void, from the invalidity of his a. A. Urb. 696.  
 “ doption, on which it was entirely grounded:” Cic. 50.  
 he shews, “ that the sole end of adoption, which Coff.  
 “ the laws acknowledged, was to supply the P. CORNELIUS  
 “ want of children, by borrowing them as it LENTULUS  
 “ were from other families; that it was an SPINther,  
 “ essential condition of it, that he who adopted had C. CÆCILIIUS  
 “ no children of his own, nor was in condition METELLUS  
 “ to have any: that the parties concerned were NEPOS.

Q.

[x] Pro dom. 13, 14, 15, 16.

A. Urb. 696. " be so too, which was intirely built upon it :  
 Cic. 50. " but granting the Tribune after all to be valid,  
 Coss. " because some eminent men would have it so,  
 P. CORNELIUS " yet the act made afterwards for his banishment  
 LENTULUS " could not possibly be confidered as a law, but  
 SPINTHER, " Q. CÆCILIIUS " as a *Privilege* onely, made against a particular  
 METELLUS " NEPOS. " person ; which the sacred laws, and the laws  
 " of the twelve Tables had utterly prohibited :  
 " that it was contrary to the very constitution of  
 " the Republic, to punish any Citizen either in  
 " body or goods, till he had been accused in  
 " proper form, and condemned of some crime  
 " by competent Judges : that *Privileges*, or laws  
 " to inflict penalties on singe persons by name,  
 " without a legal trial, were cruel and pernicious,  
 " and nothing better than proscriptions, and of  
 " all things not to be endured in their City [y]."  
 Then in entering upon the question of his house,  
 he declares, " that the whole effect of his resto-  
 " ration depended upon it ; that if it was not  
 " given back to him, but suffered to remain a  
 " a monument of triumph to his enemy, of grief  
 " and calamity to himself, he could not consider  
 " it as a restoration, but a perpetual punishment :  
 " that his house stood in the view of the whole  
 " people ; and if it must continue in its present  
 " state, he shoud be forced to remove to some  
 " other place, and could never endure to live in  
 " that City, in which he must always see tro-  
 " phies erected both against himself and the Re-  
 " public : the house of Sp. Melius," says he,  
 " who affected a Tyranny, was levelled ; and  
 " by the name of *Æquimelium*, given to the place,  
 " the people confirmed the Equity of his punish-  
 " ment : the house of Sp. Cassius was overturn-

[y] Ib. 17. in privos ho- quid est injustius? de Legib.  
 mines leges ferri noluerunt; 3. 19.  
 id est enim privilegium: que,

“ ed also for the same cause, and a Temple rais- A. Urb. 696.  
 “ ed upon it to Tellus: M. Vaccus’s house was Cic. 50.  
 “ confiscated and levelled; and to perpetuate Coss.  
 “ the memory of his treason, the place is still P. CORNELIUS  
 “ called Vaccus’s meadows: M. Manlius like- LENTULUS  
 “ wise, after he had repulsed the Gauls from the SPINTHER,  
 “ Capitol, not content with the glory of that Q. CÆCILIIUS  
 “ service, was adjudged to aim at dominion; so METELLUS  
 “ that his house was demolished, where you now NEPOS.

see the two groves planted: must I therefore suffer that punishment, which our Ancestors inflicted as the greatest, on wicked and traitorous Citizens; that posterity may consider me, not as the oppressor, but the author and captain of the Conspiracy [z]?” When he comes to speak to the dedication itself, he observes, “ that the Goddess LIBERTY, to which the Temple was dedicated, was the known statue of a celebrated trumpet, which Appius brought from Greece for the ornament of his Ædileship: and upon dropping the thoughts of that magistracy, gave to his brother Clodius, to be advanced into a Deity [a]: that the ceremony was performed without any licence or judgement obtained from the College of Priests, by the single ministry of a raw young man, the brother in law of Clodius, who had been made Priest but a few days before; a mere novice in his business, and forced into the service [b]: but if all had been transacted regularly, and in due form, that it could not possibly have any force, as being contrary to the standing laws of the Republic: for there was an old Tribunician law made by Q. Papirius, which prohibited the consecration of houses, lands, or altars, without the express command of the

[z] Pro dom. 37, 38.

[b] Ib. 45.

[a] Ib. 43.

“ people;

A. Urb. 696. " people; which was not obtained, nor even  
 Cic. 50. " pretended in the present case [c]: that great  
 Coss.  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, " regard had always been paid to this law in se-  
 veral instances of the gravest kind: that Q.  
 Q. CÆCILIIUS METELLUS NEPOS. " Marcius, the Censor, erected a Statue of CON-  
 CORD in a public part of the City, which C.  
 " Caecilius afterwards, when Censor, removed in-  
 " to the Senate-house, and consulted the Col-  
 " lege of Priests, whether he might not dedi-  
 " cate the statue and the house also itself to CON-  
 " CORD: upon which M. ÆMilius, the High-Priest,  
 " gave answer, in the name of the College, that  
 " unless the People had deputed him by name,  
 " and he acted in it by their authority, they  
 " were of opinion that he could not rightly de-  
 " dicate them [d]: that Licinia also, a vestal  
 " virgin, dedicated an altar and little temple  
 " under the sacred Rock; upon which S. Julius  
 " the Prætor, by order of the Senate, consulted  
 " the College of Priests; for whom P. Scævola,  
 " the High-Priest, gave answer, that what Li-  
 " cinia had dedicated in a public place, without  
 " any order of the people, could not be con-  
 " sidered as sacred: so that the Senate enjoined  
 " the Prætor to see it defecrated, and to efface  
 " whatever had been inscribed upon it: after all  
 " this, it was to no purpose, he tells them, to  
 " mention, what he had proposed to speak to in  
 " the last place, that the dedication was not per-  
 " formed with any of the solemn words and rites  
 " which such a function required; but by the ig-  
 " norant young man before-mentioned, without  
 " the help of his Collegues, his books, or any  
 " to prompt him: especially when Clodius, who  
 " directed him, that impure enemy of all reli-  
 " gion, who often acted the woman among  
 " men, as well as the man among women, hud-

[c] Ib. 49.

[d] Ib. 51, 53.

" dñed

dled over the whole ceremony in a blundering, A. Urb. 69<sup>o</sup>.  
 precipitate manner, faultring and confounded in Cic. 50.  
 mind, voice, and speech ; often recalling him- P. CORNELIUS  
 self, doubting, fearing, hesitating, and per- LENTULUS  
 forming every thing quite contrary to what SPINTHER,  
 the sacred books prescribed : nor is it strange," Q. CÆCILIUS  
 says he, " that in an act so mad and villainous,  
 his audaciousness could not get the better of  
 his fears : for what Pirate, though ever so  
 barbarous, after he had been plundering Tem- METELLUS  
 ples, when pricked by a dream or scruple of  
 religion, he came to consecrate some altar on NEPOS.  
 a desert shore, was not terrified in his mind, on  
 being forced to apprise that Deity by his pray-  
 ers, whom he had provoked by his sacrilege ?  
 In what horrors then, think you, must this  
 man needs be, the plunderer of all Temples,  
 houses, and the whole City, when for the ex-  
 piation of so many impieties, he was wickedly  
 consecrating one single altar [e] ? Then after a  
 solemn invocation and appeal to all the Gods,  
 who peculiarly favored and protected that  
 City, to bear witness to the integrity of his  
 zeal and love to the Republic, and that in  
 all his labors and struggles, he had constant-  
 ly preferred the public benefit to his own, he  
 commits the justice of his cause to the judge-  
 ment of the venerable Bench."

He was particularly pleased with the composition of this speech, which he published immediately ; and says upon it, that if ever he made any figure in speaking, his indignation and the sense of his injuries had inspired him with new force and spirit in this cause [f]. The sentence  
 of

[e] Ib. 54. 55.

[f] Acta res est accurate

Vol. II.

a nobis ; &amp; si unquam in di-

cendo suimus aliquid, aut

C

etiam

A. Urb. 696. of the Priests turned wholly on what Cicero had  
 Cic. 50. alledged about the force of the Papirian law ; viz.  
 Coss. that if he, who performed the office of consecration,  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINther, Q. CÆCILIIUS METELLUS NEPOS. had not been specially authorized and personally ap-  
 pointed to it by the people, then the area in question might, without any scruple of religion, be restored to Cicero. This, though it seemed somewhat eva-  
 sive, was sufficient for Cicero's purpose ; and his friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear victory ; while Clodius interpreted it still in favor of himself, and being produced into the Rostra by his Brother Appius, acquainted the people, that the Priests had given judgement for him, but that Cicero was preparing to recover possession by force, and exhorted them therefore to follow him and Appius in the defence of their liberties. But his speech made no impression on the audience ; some won-  
 dered at his impudence, others laughed at his folly, and Cicero resolved not to trouble himself, or the people about it, till the Consuls, by a decree of the Senate, had contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus [g].

THE Senate met the next day in a full house to put an end to this affair ; when Marcellinus,

etiam si unquam alias fuimus, tum profecto dolor & magni-  
 tudo vim quandam nobis di-  
 cendi dedit. Itaque Oratio juventuti nostræ deberi non posse. Ad Att. 4. 2.

[g] Cum Pontifices de-  
 cressent, ita, si neque populi jussu, neque plebis scitu, is qui se dedicasse diceret, no-  
 minatim ei rei præfектus esset ; neque populi jussu, neque ple-  
 bis scitu id facere jussus esset, videri posse sine religione eam partem areæ mihi restitui. Mihi facta statim est gratu-

latio : nemo enim dubitat, quin domus nobis esset adju-  
 dicata. Tum subito ille in concionem ascendit, quam Appius ei dedit : nunciat jam populo, Pontifices secundum se decrevisse ; me autem vi conari in possessionem venire : hortatur, ut se & Appium sequantur, & suam libertatem ut defendant. Hic cum etiam illi infimi partim admirarentur, partim irridenter hominis amentiam.—Ad Att. 4. 2.

one of the Consuls elect, being called upon to speak first, addressed himself to the Priests, and desired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their sentence: upon which Lucullus, in the name of the rest, declared, that the Priests were indeed the Judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion; and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obstacle remained in point of law: all the other Priests spoke largely after him in favor of Cicero's cause: when Clodius rose afterwards to speak, he endeavoured to waste the time so, as to hinder their coming to any resolution that day; but after he had been speaking for three hours successively, the assembly grew so impatient, and made such a noise and hissing, that he was forced to give over: yet when they were going to pass a decree, in the words of Marcellinus, Serranus put his negative upon it: this raised an universal indignation; and a fresh debate began, at the motion of the Two Consuls, on the merit of the Tribune's intercession; when, after many warm speeches, they came to the following vote; that it was the resolution of the Senate, that Cicero's house should be restored to him, and Catulus's portico rebuilt, as it had been before; and that this vote should be defended by all the Magistrates; and if any violence or obstruction was offered to it, that the Senate would look upon it, as offered by him, who had interposed his negative. This staggered Serranus, and the late Farce was played over again; his father threw himself at his feet, to beg him to desist; he desisted a night's time; which at first was refused; but, on Cicero's request, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and without further opposition suffered the Senate to pass a decree, that Cicero's da-

A. Urb. 69d.  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINTHER;  
Q. CÆCILIIUS  
METELIUS  
NEPOS.

A. Urb. 696. *mage should be made good to him, and his houses re-built at the public charge [b].*  
 Cic. 50. Cost.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINther,  
 Q. CÆCILIIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE Consuls began presently to put the decree in execution ; and having contracted for the rebuilding *Catulus's portico*, set men to work, upon clearing the ground, and demolishing what had been built by *Clodius* : but as to Cicero's buildings, it was agreed to take an estimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himself, to be laid out according to his own fancy : in which *bis Palatin house* was valued at sixteen thousand pounds ; *bis Tusculan* at four thousand ; *bis Formian* onely at two thousand. This was a very deficient and shamefull valuation, which all the world cried out upon ; for the *Palatin house* had cost him not long before near twice that sum : but Cicero would not give himself any trouble about it, or make any exceptions, which gave the Consuls a handle to throw the blame upon *bis own modesty*, for not remonstrating against it, and seeming to be satisfied with what was awarded : but the true reason was, as he himself declares, that those, who had clipt his wings, had no mind to let them grow again ; and though they had been his advocates when absent, began now to be secretly angry, and openly envious of him when present [i].

[b] Ibid.

[i] Nobis superficiem ædium Consules de consilii sententia æstimarunt H. S. vices ; cætera valde illiberaliter ; Tusculanam villam quingen-tis millibus ; Formianum ducentis quinquaginta millibus ; quæ æstimatio non modo ab optimo quoque sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices,

quid igitur causæ fuit ? Dicunt illi quidem pudorem meum, quod neque negarim, neque vehementius postularim. Sed non est id ; nam hoc quidem etiam profuisse. Verum iidem, mi Pomponi, iidem inquam illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt eadem renasci—Ibid.

BUT

BUT as he was never covetous, this affair gave him no great uneasiness; though, through the late ruin of his fortunes, he was now in such want of money, that he resolved to expose his *Tusculan Villa to sale*; but soon changed his mind and built it up again with much more magnificence than before; and for the beauty of its situation and neighbourhood to the City, took more pleasure in it ever after, than in any other of his country seats. But he had some domestic grievances about this time, which touched him more nearly; and which, as he signifies obscurely to Atticus, were of too delicate a nature to be explained by a letter [k]: they arose chiefly from the petulant humor of his wife, which began to give him frequent occasions of chagrin; and by a series of repeated provocations confirmed in him that settled disgust, which ended at last in a divorce.

As he was now restored to the possession both of his dignity and fortunes, so he was desirous to destroy all the public monuments of his late disgrace; nor to suffer the law of his exil to remain, with the other acts of Clodius's Tribune, hanging up in the *Capitol*, engraved, as usual, on tables of brass: watching therefore the opportunity of Clodius's absence, he went to the *Capitol* with a strong body of his friends, and taking the tables down conveyed them to his own house. This occasioned a sharp contest in the Senate between him and Clodius, about the validity of those acts; and drew Cato also into the debate; who, for the sake of his *Cyprian commission*, thought himself obliged to defend their legality against Cicero; which

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P.CORNELIUS  
LENTIUS  
SPINTHER,  
Q.CÆCILIU<sup>S</sup>  
METELLU<sup>S</sup>  
NEPOS.

[k] *Tusculanum proscripti: μυριασθεντα sunt. Amamus a suburbanio non facile careo.— fratre & filia. Ibid.*

*Cætera, quæ me sollicitant,*

A. Urb. 696. created some little coldness between them, and gave  
 Cic. 50. no small pleasure to the common enemies of them  
 Coss. both [l].

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER,  
 Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

BUT Cicero's chief concern at present was, how to support his former authority in the City, and provide for his future safety ; as well against the malice of declared enemies, as the envy of pretended friends, which he perceived to be growing up afresh against him : he had thoughts of putting in for the *Censorship* ; or of procuring one of those honorary *Lieutenancies*, which gave a public character to private Senators ; with intent to make a progress through Italy, or a kind of religious pilgrimage to all the Temples, Groves and sacred places, on pretence of a vow, made in his exil. This would give him an opportunity of shewing himself every where in a light, which naturally attracts the affection of the multitude, by testifying a pious regard to the favorite superstitions and local religions of the Country ; as the Great, in the same Country, still pay their court to the vulgar, by visiting the shrines and altars of the Saints, which are most in vogue : he mentions these projects to Atticus, as designed to be executed in the spring, resolving in the mean while to cherish the good inclination of the people towards him, by keeping himself perpetually in the view of the City [m].

*Catulus's portico*, and Cicero's house were rising again apace and carried up almost to the roof ; when Clodius, without any warning, attacked them, on the second of November, with a band of

[l] Plutarch in Cic. Dio. p. 100.

[m] Ut nulla re impedirer, quod ne si vellem, mihi esset integrum, aut si comitia Cen-

forum proximi Consules haberent, petere posse, aut Votivam Legationem sumfuisse prope omnium Fanorum, Iucorum. Ad Att. 4. 2.

armed

armed men, who demolished the portico, and drove the workmen out of Cicero's ground, and with the stones and rubbish of the place began to batter Quintus's house, with whom Cicero then lived, and at last set fire to it; so that the two Brothers, with their families, were forced to save themselves by a hasty flight. Milo had already accused Clodius for his former violences, and resolved, if possible, to bring him to justice: Clodius, on the other hand, was suing for the *Aedileship*, to secure himself, for one year more at least, from any prosecution: he was sure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to trial, so that whatever mischief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cause the worse [n]: he now therefore gave a free course to his natural fury; was perpetually scouring the streets with his incendiaries, and threatening fire and sword to the City itself, if an assembly was not called for the election of *Aediles*. In this humor, about a week after his last outrage, on the eleventh of November, happening to meet with Cicero, in the sacred street, he presently assaulted him with stones, clubs, and drawn swords: Cicero was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the Vestibule of the next house; where his attendants rallying in his defence, beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their Leader, but that Cicero was willing, he says, to cure by diet, rather than Surgery. The day following Clodius

[n] Armatis hominibus  
ante diem III. Non. Novemb.  
expulsi sunt fabri de area  
nostra, disturbata porticus Ca-  
tuli—Quae ad tectum pene  
perveaserat. Quinti fratri  
domus primo fracta conjectu-  
lapidem, ex area nostra, de-

inde jussu Clodii inflammata,  
inspectante Urbe, conjectis  
ignibus.—Videt, si omnes  
quos vult palam occiderit, ni-  
hi lo suam causam difficilio-  
rem, quam adhuc sit, in ju-  
dicio futuram.—Ad Att. 4. 3.

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coll.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINTHER,  
Q. CÆCILIIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS.

A. Urb. 696. attacked Milo's house, with sword in hand and lighted  
 Cic. 50. Flambeaus, with intent to storm and burn it : but  
 Coss. Milo was never unprovided for him ; and Q.  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS Flaccus, sallying out with a strong band of stout  
 SPINThER, fellows, killed several of his men, and would have  
 Q. CÆCILius METELLUS NEPOS. kill'd Clodius too, if he had not bid himself in the inner apartments of P. Sylla's house, which he made use of on this occasion as his Fortress [o].

THE Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration ; *Clodius did not think fit to appear there* ; but Sylla came, to clear himself probably from the suspicion of encouraging him in these violences, on account of the freedom, which he had taken with his house [p]. Many severe speeches were made, and vigorous counsils proposed ; Marcellinus's opinion was, that *Clodius should be impeached anew for these last outrages* ; and that no election of *Ædiles* should be suffered, till he was brought to a trial : Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Consul Metellus should make no election ; for he would take the auspices every day, on which an assembly could be held ; but Metellus contrived to waste the day in speaking, so that they were forced to break up without making any decree. Milo was as good as his word, and, having gathered a superior force, took care to obstruct the election ; though the Consul Me-

[o] Ante diem tertium Id. Novemb. cum sacra via descendederem, insecurus est me cum suis. Clamor lapides, fustes, gladii; hæc improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tertii Damionis: qui erant mecum facile operas aditum prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit; sed ego dieta curare incipio, chirurgiæ tæ-

det.—Milonis domum prid. id expugnare & incendere ita conatus est, ut palam hora quinta cum scutis homines, e ductis gladiis, alios cum a censis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Syllæ pro cas tris ad eam impugnationem sumpferat, &c. Ad Att. 4. 3.

[p] Sylla se in Senatu postridie Idus, domi Clodius. Ib. tellus

tellus employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an assembly by stratagem; calling it to one place and holding it in another, sometimes in the field of Mars, sometimes in the Forum; but Milo was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a constant guard in the field from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by *obnouncing*, as it was called, or declaring, that he was *taking the auspices on that day*; so that the three Brothers were baffled and disappointed, though they were perpetually haranguing and laboring to inflame the people against those, who interrupted their assemblies and right of electing; where Metellus's speeches were turbulent, Appius's rash, Clodius's furious. Cicero, who gives this account to Atticus, was of opinion, *that there would be no election; and that Clodius would be brought to trial, if he was not first killed by Milo*; which was likely to be his fate: Milo, says he, makes no scruple to own it; being not deterred by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious counsellors about him, nor any lazy Nobles to discourage him: it is commonly given out by the other side, that what he does, is all done by my advice; but they little know, how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in this Hero [q].

YOUNG

[q] Egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres; Metellus calamnia dicendi tempus excemit: conciones turbulentae Metelli, temerarie Appii, furiosissime Clodii; haec tamen summa, nisi Milo in Campum obnunciasset, Comitia futura.—Comitia fore non arbitror; reum Publum, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto. Si se

inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert; casum illum nostrum non extimescit, &c.

Meo confilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam confilii.—Ad Att. 4. 3.

N. B. From these facts it appears, that what is said above,

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coff.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINTHER,  
Q. CÆCILIIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS.

- A. Urb. 696. YOUNG Lentulus, the son of the Consul, was  
 Cic. 50. by the interest of his father and the recommendation  
 Coss.  
 of his noble birth, chosen into the College of Augurs this summer, though not yet seventeen years old; having but just changed his puerile for the manly gown [r]: Cicero was invited to the inauguration feast, where by eating too freely of some vegetables, which happened to please his palate, he was seized with a violent pain of the bowels, and diarrhea; of which he sends the following account to his friend Gallus.

## Cicero to Gallus.

“ After I had been laboring for ten days, with a cruel disorder in my bowels, yet could not convince those, who wanted me at the bar, that I was ill, because I had no fever, I ran away to *Tusculum*; having kept so strict a fast for two days before, that I did not taste so much as water: being worn out therefore with illness and fasting, I wanted rather to see you, than imagined, that you expected a visit from me: for my part, I am afraid, I confess, of all distempers; but especially of those, for which the Stoicks abuse your Epicurus, when he complains of the strangury and dysentery; the one of which they take to be the effect of

bove, of Clodius's repealing the *Alian and Fufian Laws*, and prohibiting the Magistrates from obstructing the Assemblies of the people, is to be understood only in a partial sense, and that his new law extended no farther, than to hinder the Magistrates from dissolving an Assembly, after it was actually convened

and had entered upon business; for it was still unlawful, we see, to convene an Assembly, while the Magistrate was in the act of observing the heavens.

[r] Cui superior annus idem & virilem patris & praetextam populi judicio togam dederit.— Pr. Sext. 69. it. Dio. l. 39. p. 99.

“ gluttony;

" gluttony; the other of a more scandalous in-  
 " temperance. I was apprehensive indeed of a  
 " *dysentry*; but seem to have found benefit, ei-  
 " ther from the change of air, or the relaxation  
 " of my mind, or the remission of the disease  
 " itself: but that you may not be surprized, how  
 " this should happen, and what I have been  
 " doing to bring it upon me; the sumptuary  
 " law, which seems to introduce a simplicity of  
 " diet, did me all this mischief. For since our  
 " men of taste are grown so fond of covering  
 " their tables, with the productions of the Earth,  
 " which are excepted by the law, they have  
 " found a way of dressing mushrooms and all  
 " other vegetables so palatably, that nothing  
 " can be more delicious: I happened to fall  
 " upon these at Lentulus's Augural supper, and  
 " was taken with so violent a flux, that this  
 " is the first day, on which it has begun to give  
 " me any ease. Thus I, who used to command  
 " myself so easily in *oysters and lampreys*, was  
 " caught with *bete and mallows*; but I shall be  
 " more cautious for the future: you however,  
 " who must have heard of my illness from Ani-  
 " cius, for he saw me in a fit of vomiting, had  
 " a just reason, not only for sending, but for  
 " coming yourself to see me. I think to stay  
 " here, till I recruit myself; for I have lost  
 " both my strength and my flesh; but if I once  
 " get rid of my distemper, it will be easy, I  
 " hope, to recover the rest [s]."

## KING

[s] Ep. Fam. 7. 26.

N. B. Pliny says, that the  
*colum*, by which he is sup-  
 posed to mean the *Cbolic*, was  
 not known at Rome, till the  
 reign of Tiberius: but the case

described in this Letter seems  
 to come so very near to it,  
 that he must be understood,  
 rather of the name, than of  
 the thing; as the learned Dr.  
 Le Clerk has observed in his  
 History

A. Urb. 696.

Cic. 50.

Coff.

P. CORNELIUS

LENTULUS

SPINTHER,

Q. CÆCILIIUS

METELLUS

NEPOS.

**A. Urb.** 696. **KING** Ptolemy left *Rome* about this time, after he had distributed immense sums among the Great, to purchase his restoration by a *Roman army*. Cic. 50. **Coff.** The people of *Egypt* had sent deputies also after him, to plead their cause before the Senate, and to explain the reasons of their expelling him; but the King contrived to get them all assassinated on the road, before they reached the City. **P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINther,** This piece of villainy, and the notion of his having bribed all the Magistrates, had raised so general an aversion to him among the people, that he found it adviseable to quit the City and leave the management of his interest to his Agents. **Q. CÆCIlius METELLUS NEPOS.** The Consul Lentulus, who had obtained the province of *Cilicia and Cyprus*, whither he was preparing to set forward, was very desirous to be charged with the commission of replacing him on his Throne; for which he had already procured a vote of the Senate: the opportunity of a command, almost in sight of *Egypt*, made him generally thought to have the best pretensions to that charge; and he was assured of Cicero's warm assistance in soliciting the confirmation of it.

IN this situation of affairs, the new Tribuns entered into office: C. Cato, of the same family with his namesake *Marcus*, was one of the number; a bold, turbulent man, of no temper or prudence, yet a tolerable speaker, and generally on the better side in politics. Before he had born any public office, he attempted to impeach *Gabinius* of

History of Medicine.—Plin. l. 26. 1. Le Cler, Hist. par. 2. l. 4. sect. 2. c. 4.

The mention likewise of the δυσερικὰ πόθη, or the Strangury of Epicurus, and

the censure, which the Stoicks passed upon it, would make one apt to suspect, that some disorders of a venereal kind were not unknown to the ancients.

bribery

bribery and corruption ; but not being able to get an audience of the Prætors, he had the hardness to mount the Rostra, which was never allowed to a private Citizen, and, in a speech to the people, declared Pompey Dictator : but his presumption had like to have cost him dear ; for it raised such an indignation in the audience, that he had much difficulty to escape with his life [t]. He opened his present Magistracy by declaring loudly against King Ptolemy, and all who favored him ; especially Lentulus ; whom he supposed to be under some private engagement with him, and for that reason, was determined to baffle all their schemes.

A. Urb. 696.  
Cic. 50.  
Coll.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
SPINTHER,  
Q. CÆCILIIUS  
METELLUS  
NEPOS.

LUPUS likewise, one of his colleagues, summoned the Senate, and raised an expectation of some uncommon proposal from him : it was indeed of an extraordinary nature ; to revise and annul that famed act of Caesar's Consulship, for the division of the Campanian lands : he spoke long and well upon it, and was heard with much attention ; gave great praises to Cicero, with severe reflections on Caesar, and expostulations with Pompey, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commission ; in the conclusion he told them, that he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, because he had no mind to expose them to the resentment and animosity of any ; but from the ill humor, which he remembered, when that act first passed, and the favor, with which he was now heard, he could easily collect the sense of the House.

[t] Ut Cato, adolescens nullius confilii,— vix vivus effugeret ; quod cum Gabiniū de ambitu vellet postulare, neque Prætores diebus aliquot adiri possent, vel po-

testatem sui facerent, in concionem ascendit, & Pompeium privatus Dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum, quam ut occideretur. Ep. ad Quint. Frat. 1. 2.

- A. Urb. 696. Upon which Marcellinus said, *that he must not conclude from their silence, either what they liked or disliked*: *that for his own part, and he might answer too, he believed, for the rest, he chose to say nothing on the subject at present, because he thought, that the cause of the Campanian lands ought not to be brought upon the stage, in Pompey's absence.*
- Cic. 50. *Coff.*  
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINther,  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THIS affair being dropt, Racilius, another Tribun, rose up and renewed the debate about Milo's *impeachment of Clodius*, and called upon Marcellinus, the Consul elect, to give his opinion upon it; who after inveighing against all the violences of Clodius, proposed, *that in the first place, an allotment of Judges should be made for the trial; and after that, the election of Aediles; and if any one attempted to binder the trial, that he should be deemed a public enemy.* The other Consul elect, Philippus, was of the same mind; but the Tribuns, Cato and Cassius, spoke against it, *and were for proceeding to an election before any step towards a trial.* When Cicero was called upon to speak, he run through the whole series of Clodius's extravagances, *as if he had been accusing him already at the bar, to the great satisfaction of the assembly:* Antistius, the Tribun seconded him, and declared, *that no business should be done before the trial;* and when the house was going universally into that opinion, Clodius began to speak, with intent to waste the rest of the day, while his slaves and followers without, who had seized the steps and avenues of the Senate, raised so great a noise of a sudden, *in abusing some of Milo's friends, that the Senate broke up in no small hurry, and with fresh indignation at this new insult [u].*

THERE

[u] Tum Clodius rogatus —deinde ejus operæ repente diem dicendo eximere cœpit a Græcostasi & gradibus clamorem

THERE was no more business done through the remaining part of *December*, which was taken up chiefly with holy days. *Lentulus* and *Metellus*, whose Consulship expired with the year, set forward for their several governments; the one for *Cilicia*, the other for *Spain*: Lentulus committed the whole direction of his affairs to Cicero; and Metellus, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from *Spain*; in which he acknowledges his services, and intimates, *that he had given up his brother Clodius, in exchange for his friendship* [x].

CICERO's first concern, on the opening of the new year, was to get the commission, *for restoring King Ptolemy*, confirmed to Lentulus; which came now under deliberation: the Tribun, *Cato*, was fierce, against restoring him at all, with the greatest part of the Senate on his side; when taking occasion to consult the *Sibylline books*, on the subject of *some late prodigies*, he chanced to find in them certain verses, forewarning the *Roman people*, *not to replace an exiled King of Egypt with an army*. This was so pat to his purpose, that there could be no doubt of it's being forged; but *Cato called up the Guardians of the books into the Rostra*, to *testify the passage to be genuine*; where it was publicly read and explained to the people: It was laid also before the Senate, who greedily received it; and after a grave debate on this scruple of religion, came to a resolution, *that it seemed dangerous to the Republic, that the King*

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

morem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor in Q. Sexti- lium & amicos Milonis incitare; eo metu injecto re- pente magna querimonia om-

nium discessimus. Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 1.

[x] Libenterque commu- tata persona, te mihi fratri loco esse duco. Ep. Fam. 5. 3.

*should*

A. Urb. 697. *should be restored by a multitude [y].* It cannot be  
 Cic. 51. imagined, that they laid any real stress on this  
 Coss. admonition of the Sibyl, for there was not a man  
 Cn. CORNE- either in or out of the House, who did not take it  
 LIUS LEN- for a fiction: but it was a fair pretext for defeat-  
 TULUS ing a project, which was generally disliked:  
 MARCEL- They were unwilling to gratify any man's am-  
 LINUS, bition, of visiting the rich country of Ægypt, at  
 L. MARCIUS the head of an army; and persuaded, that without  
 PHILIPPUS. an army, no man would be solicitous about going thither at all [z].

THIS point being settled, the next question was, *in what manner the King should be restored:* various opinions were proposed; Crassus moved, *that three Embassadors, chosen from those, who had some public command, should be sent on the errand;* which did not exclude Pompey: Bibulus proposed, *that three private Senators;* and Volcatius, *that Pompey alone should be charged with it:* but Cicero, Hortensius and Lucullus urged, *that Lentulus, to whom the Senate had already decreed it, and who could execute it with most convenience, should restore him without an army.* The two first opinions were soon over-ruled, and the struggle lay between Lentulus and Pompey. Cicero though he had some reason to complain of Lentulus, since his return, particularly for the contemptible valuation of his houses, yet for the great part, which he had born, in restoring him, was very

[y] Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione sed malevolentia, & illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobat.  
—Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

De Rege Alexandrino factum est S. C. cum multitudine eum reduci, periculosem Reipub. videri.—Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

[z] Hæc tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum *fæcæ religionis,* non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut nequis, propter exercitus cupiditatem, Alexandriam vellet ire. Ep. Fam. 1. 4.

desirous

desirous to shew his gratitude, and resolved to support him with all his authority : Pompey, who had obligations also to Lentulus, acted the same part towards him, which he had done before towards Cicero ; by his own conduct and professions, he seemed to have Lentulus's interest at heart ; yet, by the conduct of all his friends, seemed desirous to procure the employment for himself ; while the King's Agents and Creditors, fancying that their business would be served the most effectually by Pompey, began openly to solicit, and even to bribe for him [a]. But the Senate, through Cicero's influence, stood generally inclined to Lentulus ; and after a debate, which ended in his favor, Cicero, who had been the manager of it, happening to sup with Pompey that evening, took occasion to press him with much freedom, not to suffer his name to be used in this competition ; nor give a handle to his enemies, for reproaching him with the desertion of a friend, as well as an ambition, of engrossing all power to himself. Pompey seemed touched with the

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

[a] Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium ; censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sunt. M. Bibulus tres legatos ex iis, qui privati sunt. Huic assentuntur reliqui consulares, praeter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, & Volcatium, qui decernit Pompeio.—

Hortensii & mea & Luculli sententia—Ex illo S. C. quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut reducas regem.—

Regis causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium de-

ferri volunt. Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

Reliqui cum esset in Senatu contentio, Lentulus ne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur.

—In ea re Pompeius quid velit non despicio : familiares ejus quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero Regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res remota a Lentulo videtur, cum magno meo dolore : quamquam multa fecit, quare si fas esset, jure ei succensere possemus. Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

- A. Urb. 69. remonstrance, and professed to have no other thought,  
 Cic. 5<sup>1</sup>. but of serving Lentulus, while his dependents con-  
 Cato.  
 tinued still to act so, as to convince every body, that  
 he could not be sincere [b].
- CN. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

WHEN Lentulus's pretensions seemed to be in a hopefull way, C. Cato took a new and effectual method to disappoint them, by proposing a law to the people, for taking away his government and recalling him home. This stroke surprized every body; the Senate condemned it as factious; and Lentulus's son changed his habit upon it, in order to move the Citizens, and hinder their offering such an affront to his Father. The Tribun, Caninius, proposed another law at the same time, for sending Pompey to Ægypt: but this pleased no better than the other; and the Consuls contrived, that neither of them should be brought to the suffrage of the people [c]. These new contests gave a fresh interruption to Ptolemy's cause; in which Cicero's resolution was, if the commission could not be obtained for Lentulus, to prevent it's being granted at least to Pompey, and save themselves the disgrace of being baffled

[b] Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cœnavi: noctusque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam unquam antea post tuum discessum, is enim dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in Senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere: quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspicione cupiditatis: cum autem ejus familiares, omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id

quod jam omnibus est aperatum, totam rem istam jam pridem a certis hominibus, non invito Rege ipso—Fsic corruptam. Ep. Fam. 1. 2.

[c] Nos cum maxime confilio, studio, labore, gratia, de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catinis promulgatio, quæ studia nostra impediret, & animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Ibid. 5.

Suspicio per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

by

by a competitor [d]: but the Senate was grown so sick of the whole affair, that they resolved to leave the King to shift for himself, without interposing at all in his restoration; and so the matter hung; whilst other affairs more interesting were dayly rising up at home, and engaging the attention of the City.

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

THE election of *Ædiles*, which had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, could not easily be kept off any longer: the City was impatient for it's Magistrates; and especially for the plays and shews, with which they used to entertain them; and several also of the new Tribuns being zealous for an election, it was held at last *on the twentieth of January*; when Clodius was chosen *Ædile*, without any opposition; so that Cicero began once more to put himself upon his guard, from the certain expectation of a furious *Ædileship* [e].

IT may justly seem strange, how a man so profligate and criminal, as Clodius, whose life was a perpetual insult on all laws, divine and human, should be suffered not onely to live without punishment, but to obtain all the honors of a free City in their proper course; and it would be natural to suspect, that we had been deceived in our accounts of him, by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly supported by facts to be called in question: but a little attention to the particular character of the

[d] Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur nobis causa regia, aut deferatur.—Sed si res cogit, est quiddam tertium, quod non — ralpi dispicebat; ut neque jaceat Regem paternum, nec nobis repugnantibus, ad eum deferri, ad quem

prope jam delatum videtur.—Ne, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. Ep. Fam. 1. 5.  
[e] Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter furiosæ *Ædilitatis* expectationem. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 697. man, as well as of the times, in which he lived,  
 Cic. 51. will enable us to solve the difficulty. First, the  
 Coss.  
 CN. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

splendor of his family, which had born a principal share in all the triumphs of the Republic, from the very foundation of it's liberty, was of great force to protect him in all his extravagances: those, who know any thing of *Rome*, know what a strong impression this single circumstance of *illustrious nobility* would necessarily make upon the people; Cicero calls the Nobles of this class, *Praetors* and *Consuls elect from their cradles, by a kind of hereditary right; whose very names were sufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the state* [f]. Secondly, his personal qualities were peculiarly adapted to endear him to all the meaner sort: his bold and ready wit; his talent at haranguing; his profuse expense; and his being the first of his family, who had pursued popular measures, against the maxims of his Ancestors, who were all stern assertors of the *Aristocratical power*. Thirdly, the contrast of opposite factions, who had each their ends in supporting him, contributed principally to his safety: the Triumvirate willingly permitted and privately encouraged his violences; to make their own power not only the less odious, but even necessary, for controlling the fury of such an incendiary; and though it was often turned against themselves, yet they chose to bear it, and dissemble their ability of repelling it, rather than destroy the man, who was playing their game for them, and by throwing

[f] Non idem mihi licet,  
 quod iis, qui nobili genere  
 nati sunt, quibus omnia po-  
 puli Romani beneficia dor-  
 mientibus deferuntur. — In

Erat nobilitate ipsa, blan-  
 da conciliatrixula commenda-  
 tus: Omnes semper boni no-  
 bilitati favemus, &c. — Pr.  
 Sext. 9.

Verr. 5. 70.

the

the Republic into confusion, throwing it of course into their hands: the Senate on the other side, whose chief apprehensions were from the Triumvirate, thought, that the rashness of Clodius might be of some use to perplex their measures, and stir up the people against them on proper occasions; or it humored their spleen at least, *to see him often insulting Pompey to his face [g].* Lastly, all, who envied Cicero, and desired to lessen his authority, privately cherished an enemy, who employed all his force to drive him from the administration of affairs: this accidental concurrence of circumstances, peculiar to the man and the times, was the thing, that preserved Clodius, whose insolence could never have been endured in any quiet and regular state of the City.

By his obtaining the *Aedileship*, the tables were turned between him and Milo: the one was armed with the authority of a Magistrate; the other become a private man: the one freed from all apprehension of Judges and a trial; the other exposed to all that danger from the power of his antagonist: and it was not Clodius's custom, to neglect any advantage against an enemy, so that he now accused Milo of the same crime, of which Milo had accused him; *of public violence and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of Gladiators to the terror of the City.* Milo made his appearance to this accusation, *on the second of*

[g] *Videtis igitur hominem per seipsum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem, perniciosus Optimatum discordiis excitari.—Ne a Republica Reipub. peftis amoveretur, restiterunt: etiam, ne causam diceret: etiam ne privatus effet: etiamne in sanguine atque*

*in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac pefiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquit, esse qui in concione detrahatur de Pompeio.—De Harusp. Resp.*

24.

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

A. Urb. 697. February; when Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero  
 Cic. 5<sup>1</sup>.  
 Coss.  
 Cn. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

appeared with him; and M. Marcellus, though Clodius's Collegue in the AEdileship, spoke for him at Cicero's desire; and the whole passed quietly and favorably for him on that day. The second hearing was appointed on the ninth; when Pompey undertook to plead his cause, but no sooner stood up to speak, than Clodius's mob began to exert their usual arts, and by a continual clamor of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at least from being heard: but Pompey was too firm, to be so baffled; and spoke for near three hours, with a presence of mind, which commanded silence in spite of their attempts: When Clodius rose up to answer him, Milo's party, in their turn, so disturbed and confounded him, that he was not able to speak a word; while a number of Epigrams and Lampoons upon him and his Sister were thrown about, and publicly rehearsed among the multitude below, so as to make him quite furious: till recollecting himself a little, and finding it impossible to proceede in his speech, he demanded aloud of his mob, *who it was, that attempted to starve them by famine?* To which they presently cried out, Pompey: he then asked, *who it was, that desired to be sent to Egypt?* They all echoed, Pompey: but when he asked, *who it was, that they themselves had a mind to send?* They answered, Crassus: for the old jealousy was now breaking out again between him and Pompey; and though he appeared that day on Milo's side, yet he was not, as Cicero says, a real well wisher to him.

THESE warm proceedings among the chiefs, brought on a fray below, among their partisans; the Clodians began the attack, but were repulsed by the Pompeians; and Clodius himself driven out of the

*the Roftra*: Cicero, when he saw the affair pro-  
cede to blows, thought it high time to retreat and  
make the best of his way towards home: but no  
great harm was done, for Pompey, having cleared  
the Forum of his enemies, presently drew off his  
forces, to prevent any farther mischief or scan-  
dal from his side [b].

THE Senate was presently summoned, to pro-  
vide some remedy for these disorders; where  
Pompey, who had drawn upon himself a fresh  
envy from his behaviour in the *Ægyptian affair*,  
was severely handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius  
and others; *Cicero chose to be absent, since he must*  
*either have offended Pompey, by saying nothing for*  
*bim, or the honest party, by defending bim.* The  
same debate was carried on for several days; in

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEX-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

[b] Ad diem IIII. Non. Febr. Milo affuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Productus dies est in IIII. Id. Feb. —A. D. IIII. Id. Milo affuit. Dixit Pompeius, five voluit. Nam ut surrexit, opera Clodianæ clamorem susciterunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamazione, sed ut convicio & maledictis impudiretur. Qui ut peroravit, nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deteritus, dixit omnia, atque interdum etiam flentio, cum auctoritate peregerat; sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius: ei tantus clamor a nostris, placuerat enim referre gratiam, ut neque mente, neque lingua, neque ore confisteret.—Cum omnia

maledicta, tum versus etiam obscenissimi in Clodium & Clodiām dicerentur. Ille furens & exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret? Respondebant operæ, Pompeius. Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet? Respondebant, Pompeius. Quem ire vellent? Respondebant, Crassum. Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico,—

Hora fere nona, quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarbit dolor, urgere illi ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus, fuga operarum. Ejectus de Rostris Clodius. Ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba.— Senatus vocatus in Curiam, Pompeius domum. — Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 697. which Pompey was treated very roughly by the  
Cic. 51. *Tribun Cato*; who inveighed against him with great  
Coff.

CN. CORNE- LIUS LEN- TULUS MARCEL- LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

whom he paid the highest compliments, and was  
beard with much attention by all Pompey's enemies.

POMPEY answered him with an unusual vehemence; and reflecting openly on Crassus, as the author of these affronts, declared, that he would guard his life with more care, than Scipio Africanus did, when Carbo murdered him.—These warm expressions seemed to open a prospect of some great agitation likely to ensue: Pompey consulted with Cicero on the proper means of his security; and acquainted him with his apprehensions of a design against his life; that Cato was privately supported, and Clodius furnished with money by Crassus; and both of them encouraged by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest, who envied him; that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally disaffected, and the youth corrupted. Cicero readily consented to join forces with him, and to summon their clients and friends from all parts of Italy: for though he had no mind to fight his battels in the Senate, he was desirous to defend his person from all violence, especially against Crassus, whom he never loved: they resolved likewise, to oppose with united strength all the attempts of Clodius and Cato, against Lentulus and Milo [i]. Clodius, on the other hand, was not less

[i] Neque ego in Senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio defendendo, nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio, animos bonorum offenderem. Res in posterum diem dilata est.—Eo

die nihil perfectum. — Ad diem II. Id—Cato est vehementer in Pompeium invectus & eum oratione perpetua tanquam reum accusavit. De me multa me invito, cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increpavit,

less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of Milo's cause : but as his strength was much inferior to that of his adversary, so he had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view, but to seize and barass him [k] : for after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments to the beginning of May ; from which time we find no farther mention of it.

THE Consul, Marcellinus, who drew his Colleague, Philippus, along with him, was a resolute opposer of the *Triumvirate*, as well as of all the violences of the other Magistrates : for which reason, he resolved to suffer no assemblies of the people, except such as were necessary for the elections into the annual offices : his view was, to prevent Cato's law for recalling *Lentulus*, and the monstrous things, as Cicero calls them, which some were attempting at this time in favor of *Cæsar*. Cicero gives him the character of one of the best Consuls, that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing ; for treating *Pompey* on all occasions too rudely ; which made Cicero often absent himself from the Senate, to avoid taking part, either

inrepavit, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondebat ei vehementer *Pompeius*, Crassumque descriptis ; dixitque aperte, se munitionem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam *Africanus* fuisset, quem *C. Carbo* interemisset. Itaque magnae miseri res moveri videbantur. Nam *Pompeius* hoc intelligit, necumque communicat infidias vite suæ fieri : *C. Catonem* a *Crasso* sustentari ; *Clodio* pecuniam suppeditari : primumque & ab eo & a Cu-

A. Urb. 697.  
C. Cic. 51.  
Coff  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TUDUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

rione, *Bibulo*, ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari : vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur, concionario illo populo, a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non sequo Senatu, Juventute improba ; itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas *Clodius* confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In eo multo sumus superiores, &c. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[4] Vid. Dio. p. 99.

A. Urb. 697. on the one side or the other [l]. For the support therefore of his dignity and interest in the City, he resumed his old task of pleading causes; which was always popular and reputable, and in which he was sure to find full employment. His first cause was the defence of L. Bestia, on the tenth of February, who, after the disgrace of a repulse from the Praetorship in the last election, was accused of bribery and corruption in his suit for it; and, notwithstanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and banished. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent and seditious; had always been an enemy to Cicero; and supposed to be deeply engaged in Catiline's plot; and is one instance of the truth of what Cicero says, that he was often forced, against his will, to defend certain persons, who had not deserved it of him, by the intercession of those, who had [m].

CÆSAR, who was now in the career of his victories in Gaul, sent a request to the Senate; that money might be decreed to him for the payment of his army; with a power of choosing ten Lieutenants, for the better management of the war, and the conquered Provinces; and that his command

[l] Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediante Collega: sic inquam bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes.—Sic legibus perniciofissimis obfistitur, maxime Catonis.—Nunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removit, & eos, qui de Cæsare monstra promulgarant.—Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi minus satisfacit, quod eum nimis aspere tractat, quanquam id Senatu non invito facit: quo

ego me libertius a Curia, & ab omni parte Reip. subtraho. Ad Quint. 26.

[m] A. D. III. Id. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud Praetorem Cn. Domitium, in Foro medio, maximo conventu.—Ad Quint. 2. 3.

Cogor nonnquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatis eorum qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. Ep. Fam. 7. 1. Vid. Philip. XI. 5. Sallust. 17. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

*should*

should be prolonged for five years more. The demand was thought very exorbitant; and it seemed strange, that after all his boasted Conquests, he should not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treasury was greatly exhausted; and the renewal of a commission, obtained at first by violence and against the authority of the Senate, was of hard digestion. But Cæsar's interest prevailed, and Cicero himself was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his satisfaction; yet not without disgusting the old Patriots, who stood firm to their maxim of opposing all extraordinary grants: but Cicero *alleged the extraordinary services of Cæsar; and that the course of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of necessary supplies, while he was so gloriously extending the bounds of the Empire, and conquering nations, whose names had never been heard before at Rome: and though it were possible for him to maintain his troops without their help, by the spoils of the enemy, yet those spoils ought to be reserved for the splendor of his Triumph, which it was not just to defraud by their unseasonable parsimony* [n].

He might think it imprudent perhaps at this time, to call Cæsar home from an unfinished war, and stop the progress of his arms in the very height of his success; yet the real motive of his conduct seems to have flowed, not so much from the merits of the cause, as a regard to the

[n] *Illum enim arbitrabar etiam sine hoc subfido pecuniae retinere exercitum praeda ante parta, & bellum confidere posse: sed decus illud & ornamentum Triumphi minuendam nostra parsimonia non putavi.—*

*Et quas regiones, quasque gentes nullæ nobis antea litteræ, nulla vox, nulla fama notas fecerat, has nosfer Imperator, nosferque exercitus, & populi Romani arma peragranunt.—De Prov. Consul. XI. 13.—*

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
E. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

A. Urb. 697. condition of the times, and his own circumstances. For in his private letters he owns, " that  
 Cic. 51. the malevolence and envy of the Aristocrati-  
 Coff. cal chiefs had almost driven him from his old  
 Cn. CORNE- principles; and though not so far, as to make  
 LIUS LEN- him forget his dignity, yet so, as to take a  
 TULUS proper care of his safety; both which might  
 MARCEL- be easily consistent, if there was any faith or  
 LINUS, gravity in the Consular Senators: but they  
 L. MARCIUS had managed their matters so ill, that those,  
 PHILIPPUS. who were superior to them in power, were be-  
 come superior too in authority; so as to be able  
 to carry in the Senate, what they could not  
 have carried even with the people without vio-  
 lence: that he had learnt from experience,  
 what he could not learn so well from books,  
 that as no regard was to be had to our safety,  
 without a regard also to our dignity; so the con-  
 sideration of dignity ought not to exclude the  
 care of our safety [o].". In another letter he says,  
 that the state and form of the government was  
 quite changed; and what he had proposed to  
 himself; as the end of all his toils, *a dignity and*  
*liberty of acting and voting*, was quite lost and  
 gone; that there was nothing left, but either  
 meanly to assent to the few, who governed

[o] Quorum malevolentis-  
 simis obtrectationibus nos sci-  
 to de vetere illa nostra, diu-  
 turnaque intentia prope jam  
 esse depulso: non nos qui-  
 dem ut nostræ dignitatis si-  
 mus obliti, sed ut habeamus  
 rationem aliquando etiam sa-  
 lutis. Poterat utrumque præ-  
 clare, si esset fides, si gra-  
 vitas in hominibus Contula-  
 ribus.—

Nam qui plus opibus, ar-

mis, potentia valent, profe-  
 cisse tantum mihi videntur  
 stultitia & inconstantia adver-  
 sariorum, ut etiam auctorita-  
 te jam plus valerent.—quod  
 ipse, litteris omnibus a pue-  
 ritia deditus, experiundo ta-  
 men magis, quam discendo  
 cognovi;—neque salutis no-  
 stræ rationem habendam no-  
 bis esse sine dignitate, neque  
 dignitatis sine salute.—Ep.  
 fam. 1. 7.

" all;

" all ; or weakly to oppose them, without doing any good : that he had dropt therefore all thoughts of that old Consular gravity and character of a resolute Senator, and resolved to conform himself to Pompey's will ; that his great affection to Pompey made him begin to think all things right, which were usefull to him ; and he comforted himself with reflecting, that the greatness of his obligations would make all the world excuse him, for defending what Pompey liked, or at least, for not opposing it ; or else, what of all things he most desired, if his friendship with Pompey would permit him, for retiring from public busines, and giving himself wholly up to his books [p]."

BUT he was now engaged in a cause, in which he was warmly and specially interested, *the defence of P. Sextius*, the late Tribun. *Clodius*, who gave Cicero's friends no respite, having himself undertaken Milo, assigned the prosecution of Sextius to one of his confidants, M. Tullius Albinovanus, who accused him of *public violence, or breach of peace in bis Tribune* [q]. Sextius had

[p] Tantum enim animi inductio & mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me vallet, ut, quæ illi utilia sunt, & quæ ille vult, ea mihi omnia jam & recta & vera videantur—Me quidem illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quæ Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet; ad nostra me studia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, si mihi per ejusdem amici-

tiam licebit.—

Quæ enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum & honoribus amplissimis, & laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in Rep. capessenda ; ea sublata tota : sed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut assentendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut frustra dissentendum. Ibid. 8.  
[q] Qui cum omnibus salutis meæ defensoribus bellum sibi esse gerendum jadicaverunt. Pr. Sext. 2.

been

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 52.  
Coll.  
Ca. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS.  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCUS  
PHILIPPIUS.

A. Urb. 697. been a true friend to Cicero in his distress; and  
 Cic. 51.  
 Cn. CORNELIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

Coff.

born a great part in his restoration; but as in cases of eminent service, conferred jointly by many, every one is apt to claim the first merit, and expect the first share of praise; so Sextius, naturally morose, fancying himself neglected or not sufficiently requited by Cicero, had behaved very churlishly towards him since his return: but Cicero, who was never forgetfull of past kindnesses, instead of resenting his perverseness, having heard, that *Sextius was indisposed, went in person to his house, and cured him of all his jealousies, by freely offering his assistance and patronage in pleading his cause [r]*.

THIS was a disappointment to the prosecutors; who flattered themselves, that Cicero was so much disgusted, that he would not be persuaded to plead for him; but he entered into the cause with a hearty inclination, and made it, as in effect it really was, his own [s]. In his speech, which is still extant, after laying open the history of his exil, and the motives of his own conduct, through the whole progress of it, he shews;

" that the only ground of prosecuting Sextius was,  
 " his faithfull adherence to him, or rather to the  
 " Republic; that by condemning Sextius, they  
 " would in effect condemn him, whom all the or-  
 " ders of the City had declared to be unjustly ex-  
 " pelled, by the very same men, who were now  
 " attempting to expell Sextius: that it was a ban-  
 " ter and ridicule on justice itself, to accuse a

[r] Is erat sager: dominum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus; eisque nos totus tradidimus: idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei jure succensere putabant, ut humanitatem gratificauimus & ipsi & omnibus visu deseretur: itaque faciemus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[s] P. Sextius est reus non suo sed meo nomine, &c. Pr. Sent. 13.

" man

" man of violence, who had been left for dead  
 " upon the spot, by the violence of those, who  
 " accused him ; and whose only crime it was,  
 " that he would not suffer himself to be quite  
 " killed, but presumed to guard his life against  
 " their future attempts." In short he managed  
 the cause so well, that Sextius was acquitted, and  
 in a manner the most honorable, *by the unanimous  
 suffrages of all the Judges; and with an universal  
 applause of Cicero's humanity and gratitude [t].*

POMPEY attended this trial as a friend to Sextius; while Cæsar's creature, Vatinus, appeared not only as an adversary, but *a witness against him*: which gave Cicero an opportunity of lashing him, as Sextius particularly desired, with all the keenness of his raillery, *to the great diversion of the audience*, for instead of interrogating him in the ordinary way, about the facts deposited in the trial, he contrived to teize him with a perpetual series of questions, which revived and exposed the iniquity of his factious Tribune, and the whole course of his profligate life, from his first appearance in public; and, in spite of all his impudence, *quite daunted and confounded him*. Vatinus however made some feeble effort to defend himself, and rally Cicero in his turn; and among other things, reproached him *with the baseness of changing sides; and becoming Cæsar's friend, on account of the fortunate state of his affairs*: to which Cicero briskly replied, though Pompey himself stood by, *that he still preferred*

A. Urb. 697.  
 Cic. 51.  
 Coss.  
 CN. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEM-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

[t] Sextius noster absolu- est—Scito nos in eo judicio  
 tus est. A. D. II. Id. Mart. consecutos esse, ut omnium  
 & quod vehementer interfuit gratissimi judicaremus. Nam  
 Reipub. nullam videri in ejus- in defendendo homine mo-  
 modi causa dissencionem esse, roso cumulatissime satisfe-  
 omnibus sententiis absolutus mus.—Ad Quint. 2. 4.—

*the*

A. Urb. 697. the condition of Bibulus's Consulship, which Vatinius  
 Cic. 51. thought abject and miserable, to the victories and  
 Coss. triumphs of all men whatsoever. This speech a-  
 CN. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

gainst Vatinius is still remaining, under the title of *the interrogation*; and is nothing else, but what Cicero himself calls it, *a perpetual invective on the Magistracy of Vatinius, and the conduct of those who supported him [u].*

IN the beginning of April, the Senate granted the sum of three hundred thousand pounds to Pompey, to be laid out in purchasing corn for the use of the City; where there was still a great scarcity, and as great at the same time of money: so that the moving a point so tender could not fail of raising some ill humor in the assembly; when Cicero, whose old spirit seems to have revived in him from his late success in Sextius's cause, surprized them by proposing, that in the present inability of the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's act were to be divided to the people, the act itself should be reconsidered, and a day appointed for that deliberation: the motion was received with an universal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: the enemies of the Triumvirate were extremely pleased with it, in hopes, that it would make a breach between

[u] Vatinium, a quo pa-  
 lam oppugnabatur, arbitratu-  
 nostro concidimus, Diis ho-  
 minibusque plaudentibus.—  
 Quid queris? Homo petu-  
 lans, & audax Vatinius valde  
 perturbatus, debilitatusque dis-  
 cessit.—Ibid.

Ego sedente Pompeio, cum  
 ut laudaret P. Sextium in-  
 troisset in urbem, dixissetque  
 testis Vatinius, me fortuna

& felicitate C. Cæsar's com-  
 motum, illi amicum esse coe-  
 pisse; dixi, me eam Bibuli  
 fortunam, quam ille afflictam  
 putaret, omnium triumphis  
 victoriisque anteferre.—Tota  
 vero interrogatio mea nihil  
 habuit, nisi reprehensionem  
 illius Tribunatus: in quo om-  
 nia dicta sunt libertate, ani-  
 moque maximo.—Ep. fam.  
 1. 9.

Cicero

Cicero and Pompey; but it served onely for a proof, of what Cicero himself observes; *that it is very hard for a man to depart from his old sentiments in politics, when they are right and just* [x].

POMPEY, whose nature was singularly reserved, expressed no uneasiness upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and supped together familiarly, as they used to do: but he set forward soon after towards Afric, in order to provide corn; and intending to call at Sardinia, proposed to embark at Pisa or Legborn, that he might have an interview with Cæsar, who was now at Luca, the utmost limit of his Gallic Government. He found Cæsar exceedingly out of humor with Cicero; for Crassus had already been with him at Ravenna, and greatly incensed him by his account of Cicero's late motion; which he complained of so heavily, that Pompey promised to use all his authority, to induce Cicero to drop the pursuit of it; and for that purpose sent away an express to Rome, to entreat him, not to proceed any farther in it till his return; and when he came afterwards to Sardinia, where his Lieutenant, Q. Cicero, then resided, he entered immediately into an expostulation with him about it, " recounting all his services to his Brother, and that every thing, which he had done for him, was done with Cæsar's consent; and reminding him of a former conversation between themselves, concerning Cæsar's acts,

[x] Pompeio pecunia de-  
creta in rem frumentariam  
ad HS cccc. sed eodem die  
vehementer actum de agro  
Campano, clamore Senatus  
prope concionali. Acriorem  
causam inopia pecuniae fa-  
ciebat, & annonæ caritas.—

Ad Quint. 2. 5.

Nonis April. mihi est Se-  
natus assensus, ut de agro  
Campano, idibus Maiis, fre-  
quenti Senatu refretetur.  
Num potui magis in arcem  
illius causæ invadere —Ep.  
Fam. 1. 9.

A: Urb. 697:  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS I ENA-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS;  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

- A. Urb. 697. “ and what Quintus himself had undertaken for  
 Cic. 51. “ his Brother on that head ; and as he then  
 Coss. “ made himself answerable for him, so he was  
 Cn. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS “ now obliged to call him to the performance  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS, “ of those engagements : in short, he begged of  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS. “ him, to press his Brother to support and de-  
     “ fend Cæsar’s interests and dignity, or if he  
     “ could not persuade him to that, to engage  
     “ him at least, not to act against them [y].”

THIS remonstrance from Pompey, enforced by his Brother Quintus, staggered Cicero’s resolution, and made him enter into a fresh deliberation with himself about the measures of his conduct ; where, after casting up the sum of all his thoughts, and weighing every circumstance, which concerned either his own or the public interest, he determined at last to drop the affair, rather than expose himself again, in his present situation, to the animosity of Pompey and Cæsar, for which he makes the following apology to his friend Lentulus : “ that those, who professed the same principles, and were embarked in the same

[y] Hoc S. C. in senten-  
 tiam meam facto, Pompeius,  
 cum mihi nihil ostendisset se  
 esse offensum, in Sardiniam  
 & in Africam profectus est,  
 eoque itinere Lucam ad Cæ-  
 sarem venit. Ibi multa de  
 mea sententia questus est Cæ-  
 sar, quippe qui etiam Ra-  
 vennæ Crassum ante vidisset,  
 ab eoque in me esset incen-  
 sus. Sane moleste Pompeium  
 id ferre constabat : quod  
 ego, cum audissem ex aliis,  
 maxime ex fratre meo cog-  
 novi ; quem cum in Sardinia  
 paucis post diebus, quam Lu-

ca discesserat, convenisset.  
 Te, inquit, ipsum cupio : ni-  
 hil opportunius potuit acci-  
 dere : nisi cum Marco fratre  
 diligenter egeris, dependen-  
 dum tibi est, quod mihi pro  
 illo spopondisti : quid multa ?  
 Questus est graviter : sua me-  
 rita commemoravit : quid e-  
 gisset fæpissime de actis Cæ-  
 saris cum meo fratre, quid-  
 que sibi is de me receperisset,  
 in memoriam redegit : seque  
 quæ de mea salute egisset,  
 voluntate Cæsaris egisse, ip-  
 sum meum fratrem testatus  
 est.—Ibid.

“ cause

*of M. TULLIUS CICERO.*

§

“ cause with him, were perpetually envying and A. Urb. 697.  
“ thwarting him, and more disgusted by the Cic. 51.  
“ splendor of his life, than pleased with any Cn. CORNE-  
“ thing, which he did for the public service: LIUS LEN-  
“ that their only pleasure, and what they could TULUS  
“ not even dissemble, while he was acting with MARCET-  
“ them, was to see him disoblige Pompey, and LINUS,  
“ make Cæsar his enemy; when they, at the L. MARCIUS  
“ same time, were continually caressing Clodius PHILIPPUS,

A. Urb. 697. " thought himself obliged to make good those  
 Cic. 51. " engagements [z]."  
 Coss.

CN. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

THIS was the general state of his political behaviour: he had a much larger view, and more comprehensive knowledge both of men and things, than the other chiefs of the Aristocracy, Bibulus, Marcellinus, Cato, Favonius, &c. whose stiffness had ruined their cause, and brought them into their present subjection by alienating Pompey and the Equestrian order from the Senate: they considered Cicero's management of the Triumvirate, as a mean submission to illegal power, which they were always opposing and irritating, though ever so unseasonably; whereas Cicero thought it time to give over fighting, when the forces were so unequal; and that the more patiently they suffered the dominion of their New Masters, the more temperately they would use it [a]; being

[z] Qui cum illa sentirent in Repub. quæ ego agebam, semperque sensissent; me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio, Cæsaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se aiebant: hoc mihi dolendum, sed illud multo magis, quod inimicum meum — sic amplexabantur — sic me præsente osculabantur—Ego si ab improbis & perditis civibus Rempub. teneri videbam — Non modo præmiis—Sed ne periculis quidem ullis compulsius— Ad eorum causam me adjungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in Repub. Cn. Pompeius princeps esset — meumque inimicum

unum in Civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paullum me immutasse, meamque voluntatem ad summi viri, de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregassem, &c. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit, & Pompeii fides, quam de me Cæsari dederat, & fratris mei, quam Pompeio — Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[a] Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent, si cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent.—

Commutata tota ratio est Senatus, judiciorum, Rei totius publicæ. Otium nobis exoptandum

being persuaded, that Pompey at least, who was the head of them, had no designs against the public liberty, unless he were provoked and driven to it by the perverse opposition of his enemies [b]. These were the grounds of that complaisance, which he now generally paid to him, for the sake both of his own and the public quiet: in consequence of which, when the appointed day came, for considering the case of the *Campanian lands*, the debate dropt of course, when it was understood, that Cicero, the mover of it, was absent and had changed his mind: though it was not, as he intimates, without some struggle, in his own breast, that he submitted to this step, which was likely to draw upon him an imputation of levity [c].

His daughter, Tullia, having now lived a widow about a year, was married to a second husband, *Furius Crassipes*; and the wedding Feast held at Cicero's house, on the sixth of April: we find very little said, of the character or condition of this Crassipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and dignity [*d*]. Atticus also, who was about a year

E 3

**younger**

exoptandum est : quod ii, qui  
potiuntur rerum, præstituti  
videntur, si quidam homines  
patientius eorum potentiam  
ferre potuerint. Dignitatem  
quidem illam consulariem  
fortis & constantis Senatoris,  
nihil est, quod cogitemus.  
Amissa est culpa eorum, qui  
a Senatu & ordinem conjunc-  
tissimum, & hominem claris-

**fimur abalienarunt.** Ibid. 8.

[b] Ep. Fam. i. 9.

[c] Quod Idibus & postridie fuerat dictum, de Agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua hæret. — Ad Quint. 2. 8.

[d] De nostra Tullia —  
spero nos cum Crassipede con-  
fecisse. Ib. 4.

**Quod**

A. Urb. 697. younger than Cicero, was married this spring to  
 Cic. 51.  
 Coff.  
 Cn. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.

youngster than Cicero, was married this spring to Pilia, and invited him to the wedding [e]. As to his domestic affairs, his chief care at present was about rebuilding three of his houses, which were demolished in his exil; and repairing the rest, with that also of his Brother, out of which they were driven in the last attack of Clodius: by the hints, which he gives of them, they all seem to have been very magnificent, and built under the direction of the best Architects: Clodius gave no farther interruption to them, being forced to quit the pursuit of Cicero, in order to watch the motions of a more dangerous enemy, Milo. Cicero however was not without a share of uneasiness, within his own walls; *bis Brother's wife and his own, neither agreed well with each other, nor their own husbands*: Quintus's was displeased at her husband's staying so long abroad; and Cicero's not disposed to make hers the happier for staying at home. His Nephew also, *Young Quintus*, a perverse youth, spoiled by a mother's indulgence, added somewhat to his trouble; for he was now charged with the care of his education, in the Father's absence; and had him taught under his own eye by *Tyrannio*, a Greek Master; who, with several other learned men of that country, was entertained in his house [f].

## KING

Quod mihi de Filia & de  
 Crassipe gratularis—Spero-  
 que & opto hanc conjunctio-  
 nem nobis voluptati fore.  
 Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

Viatricum Crassipes præ-  
 pit. Ad Att. 4. 5.

[e] Prid. Id hæc scripsi an-  
 te lucem. Eo die apud Pom-

ponium in ejus nuptiis eram  
 cænaturus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

[f] Domus utriusque no-  
 strum ædificatur strenue.—

Ib. 4. Longilium redempto-  
 rem cohortatus sum. Fidem  
 mihi faciebat, se velle nobis  
 placere. Domus erit egre-  
 gia. ib. 6.

Quintus

KING Ptolemy's affair was no more talked of; Pompey had other business upon his hands, and was so ruffled by the *Tribun*, *Cato*, and the *Consul*, *Marcellinus*, that he laid aside all thoughts of it for himself, and wished to serve Lentulus in it. The Senate had passed a vote *against restoring him at all*; but one of the *Tribuns* inhibited them from proceeding to a decree; and a former decree was actually subsisting in favor of Lentulus: Cicero therefore after a consultation with Pompey, sent him their joint and last advice; "that by his command of a Province, so near to *Egypt*, as he was the best judge of what he was able to do, so if he found himself Master of the thing, and was assured of success, he might leave the King at Ptolemais, or some other neighbouring City, and proceed without him to *Alexandria*; where if by the influence of his fleet and troops he could appease the public dissensions, and persuade the Inhabitants to receive their King peaceably, he might then carry him home, and so restore him according to the first decree; yet without a multitude, as our religious men, says he, tell us, the *Sibyl has enjoined*—that it was the opinion however of them both, that people would judge of the fact by the event: if he was certain therefore of carrying his point, he should not defer it; if doubtfull, should not undertake it: for as the world would applaud

Quintus tuus, puer optimus,  
eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc  
magis animadverto, quod  
Tyrannio decet apud me.—  
Ib. 4.

A. D. VIII. Id. Apr.  
Sponsalia Crassipedi præbui.  
Huius convivio puer optimus,

Quintus tuus, quod perleviter  
commotus fuerat, defuit.—  
Multum is mecum sermonem  
habuit & perhumanum de  
discordiis mulierum nostrarum — Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est.—Ib. 6.

"him,

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS,  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,

- A. Urb. 697. " him, if he effected it with ease, so a miscarriage might be fatal, on account of the late  
 Cic. 51.  
 Coss.  
 Cn. CORNELIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.
- " vote of the Senate, and the scruple about religion [g]." But Lentulus, wisely judging the affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a more desperate character, Gabinius; who ruined himself soon after by embarking in it.

THE Tribun Cato, who was perpetually inveigling against keeping Gladiators, like so many standing armies to the terror of the Citizens, had lately bought a band of them, but finding himself unable to maintain them, was contriving to part with them again without noise or scandal. Milo got notice of it, and privately employed a person, not one of his own friends, to buy them; and when they were purchased, Racilius, another Tribun, taking the matter upon himself, and pretending, that they were bought for him, published a proclamation, that Cato's family of Gladiators was to be sold by auction; which gave no small diversion to the City [b].

Milo's

[g] Te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere & quid consequi possis, &, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse & tuæ & nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe, atque exercitu proficiisci Alexandriam: ut cum eam pace, praefidiisque firmaris, Ptolemæus redeat in regnum: ita fore, ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum Senatus initio censuit; & sine multitudine reducatur,

quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt. Sed hæc sententia sic & illi & nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo confilio existimaturos videremus —Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi fit, posse te regni illius potiri; non esse cunctandum: si dubium, non esse conandum, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

[b] Ille vindex Gladiatorum & Bestiariorum emerat —Bestarios—Hos alere non poterat. Itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo, dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui

fine

MILo's trial being put off to *the fifth of May*, Cicero took the Benefit of a short vacation, to make an excursion into the Country, and visit his estates and Villa's in different parts of Italy. He spent five days at *Arpinum*, whence he proceeded to his other houses at *Pompeia* and *Cuma*; and stopt a while, on his return, at *Antium*, where he had lately rebuilt his house, and was now disposing and ordering his library, by the direction of Tyrannio; *the remains of which*, he says, were more considerable, than he expected from the late ruin. Atticus lent him two of his Librarians to assist his own, in taking Catalogues, and placing the books in order; which he calls *the infusion of a soul into the body of his house* [i]. During this tour, his old enemy, Gabinius, the Proconsul of Syria, having gained some advantage in *Judea* against Aristobulus, who had been dethroned by Pompey, and on that account was raising troubles in the country, sent public letters to the Senate, to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a Thanksgiving for it. His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's absence, from whose authority they apprehended some obstruction; but the Se-

A. Urb. 697.  
C. Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

fine suspicione emeret eam familiam a Catone: quæ finalatque abducta est, Raci- lius rem patefecit, eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit — & tabulam proscripti, se familiam Catonianam venditum. In eam tabulam magni risus conseqebantur. — Ad Quin. 2. 6.

[i] Offendes designatio- nem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum Biblio-

theca; quorum reliquæ multo meliores sunt, quam putaram. Etiam vellem mihi mittas de tuis Librariolis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, & ad cætera administris.—Ad Att. 4. 4.

Postea vero quam Tyranno mihi libros dispositi, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re, mirifica opera Dionysii & Menophili tui fuit. Ib. 8. nato,

A. Urb. 697. nate, in a full House, flighted his letters and rejected his suit: an affront, which had never been offered before to any Proconsul. Cicero was infinitely delighted with it, calls *the resolution divine*, and was doubly pleas'd for it's being *the free and genuin judgement of the Senate, without any struggle or influence on his part*; and reproaching Gabinius with it afterwards, says, that by this act the Senate had declared, *that they could not believe, that he, whom they had always known to be a traitor at home, could ever do any thing abroad, that was usefull to the Republic [k]*.

MANY prodigies were reported to have happened about this time, in the neighbourhood of Rome: horrible noises under ground, with clashing of Arms; and on the Alban hill a little Shrine of Juno, which stood on a table facing the east, turned suddenly of itself towards the north. These terrors alarmed the City, and the Senate consulted the Haruspices, who were the public Diviners or Prophets of the State, skill'd in all the Tuscan discipline of interpreting portentous events; who gave the following answer in writing: *that supplications must be made to Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the other Gods: that the solemn shows and plays had been negligently exhibited and polluted: sacred and religious places made profane: Embassadors killed contrary to right and law: faith and*

[k] Id. Maiis Senatus frequens divinus fuit in Supplicatione Gabiaio deneganda. Adjurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte jucundum, tum jucundius, quod me absente, est enim iudicium, sine op-pugnatione, sine gratia no-

stra.—Ad Quin. 2. 8. §.

4. 5.

Hoc statuit Senatus, cum frequens supplicationem Gabinius denegavit — A proditore, atque eo, quem praesentem hostem Reipub. cognoset, bene Rempub. geri non potuisse. — De Prov. Consul. 6.

ostbs

oaths disregarded: ancient and bidden sacrifices carelessly performed and profaned—that the Gods gave this warning, left by the discord and dissension of the better sort, dangers and destruction should fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a single person; their armies be beaten, great loss ensue, and honors be heaped on the unworthy and disgraced—[l].

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEE-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

ONE may observe from this answer, that the Diviners were under the direction of those, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil disorders: each party interpreted it according to their own views: Clodius took a handle from it of venting his spleen afresh against Cicero; and calling the people together for that purpose, attempted to persuade them, that this divine admonition was designed particularly against him; and that the article of the sacred and religious places referred to the case of his house; which, after a solemn consecration to religion, was rendered again profane; charging all the displeasure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing less than a tyranny and the oppression of their liberties [m].

CICERO made a reply to Clodius the next day in the Senate; where after a short and general invective upon his profligate life, “ he leaves “ him, he says, a devoted victim to Milo, who “ seemed to be given to them by heaven, for “ the extinction of such a plague; as Scipio “ was for the destruction of Carthage: he de-“ clares the prodigy to be one of the most ex-“ traordinary, which had ever been reported to

[l] Vid. Argum. Manu- spons. Dio. 1. 39. p. 100.  
tii in Orat. de Harusp. re-

[m] Dio. Ibid.

A. Urb. 697. " the Senate ; but laughs at the absurdity of ap-  
 Cic. 51. " plying any part of it to him ; since his house,  
 Coss. " as he proves at large, was more solemnly  
 CN. CORNE- " cleared from any service or relation to religion,  
 LIUS LEN- " than any other house in Rome, by the Judge-  
 TULUS " ment of the Priests, the Senate, and all the  
 MARCEL- " orders of the City [n]." Then running through  
 LINUS, " the several articles of the answer, " he shews them  
 L. MARCIUS " all to tally so exactly with the notorious acts  
 PHILIPPUS. " and impieties of Clodius's life, that they could  
 " not possibly be applied to any thing else—  
 " that as to the sports, said to be negligently  
 " performed and polluted, it clearly denoted the  
 " pollution of the *Megalensian play*; the most  
 " venerable and religious of all other shews ;  
 " which Clodius himself, as *Ædile*, exhibited  
 " in honor of the Mother of the Gods; where  
 " when the Magistrates and Citizens were seated  
 " to partake of the diversions, and the usual  
 " proclamation was made, to command all slaves  
 " to retire ; a vast body of them, gathered from  
 " all parts of the City, by the order of Clodius,  
 " forced their way upon the stage, to the great  
 " terror of the assembly ; where much mischief  
 " and bloodshed would have ensued, if the  
 " Consul Marcellinus, by his firmness and pre-  
 " fence of mind, had not quieted the tumult :  
 " and in another representation of the same  
 " plays, the slaves, encouraged again by Clo-  
 " dius, were so audacious and successfull in a se-  
 " cond irruption, that they drove the whole  
 " company out of the Theater, and possessed  
 " it intirely to themselves [o] : that as to the  
 " profanation of sacred and religious places ; it  
 " could not be interpreted of any thing so aptly,

[n] De Haruspic. respon-  
 sis. 6.

[o] Ibid. 10, 11, 12, 13.

" as

" as of what Clodius and his friends had done : A. Urb. 697.  
 " for that in the house of Q. Seius, which he Cic. 51.  
 " had bought after murthering the owner, there Coll.  
 " was a chappel and altars, which he had lately Cn. CORNE-  
 " demolished : that L. Piso had destroyed a cele- LIUS LEN-  
 " brated chappel of Diana, where all that neigh- TULUS  
 " bourhood, and some even of the Senate, used MARCEL-  
 " annually to perform their family sacrifices : LINUS,  
 " that Serranus also had thrown down, burnt, L. MARCIUS  
 " and profaned several consecrated Chappels, and PHILIPPUS.  
 " raised other buildings upon them [p] : that as  
 " to Embassadors killed contrary to law and right ;  
 " though it was commonly interpreted of those  
 " from Alexandria, yet other Embassadors had  
 " been murthered, whose death was no less of-  
 " fenfive to the Gods ; as Theodosius, killed  
 " with the privity and permission of Clodius ; and  
 " Plator, by the order of Piso [q] : as to the vio-  
 " lation of faith and oaths, that it related evidently  
 " to those Judges, who had absolved Clodius ;  
 " as being one of the most memorable and fla-  
 " grant perjuries, which Rome had ever known ;  
 " that the answer itself suggested this interpreta-  
 " tion, when it subjoined, that ancient and oc-  
 " cult sacrifices were polluted ; which could refer  
 " to nothing so properly as to the rites of the  
 " Bona Dea ; which were the most ancient and  
 " the most occult of any in the City ; celebrated  
 " with incredible secrecy to that Goddess, whose  
 " name it was not lawfull for men to know ;  
 " and with ceremonies, which no man ever  
 " pried into, but Clodius [r]. Then as to the  
 " warning, given by the Gods, of dangers, likely  
 " to ensue from the diffensions of the principal

[p] Ibid. 14, 15.

[r] Ibid. 17, 18.

[q] Ibid. 16.

" Citizens ;

- A. Urb. 697. " *Citizens*; that there was no man so particularly active, in promoting those dissensions, as Clodius; who was perpetually enflaming one side or the other; now pursuing popular, now Aristocratical measures; at one time a favorite of the Triumvirate, at another of the Senate; whose credit was wholly supported by their quarrels and animosities. He exhorts them therefore in the conclusion, to beware of falling into those miseries, of which the Gods so evidently forewarned them; and to take care especially, that the form of the Republic was not altered; since all civil contests between great and powerfull Citizens, must necessarily end; either in an universal destruction, or a tyranny of the Conqueror: that the state was now in so tottering a condition, that nothing could preserve it but their concord: that there was no hope of it's being better, while Clodius remained unpunished; and but one degree left of being worse, by being wholly ruined and enslaved; for the prevention of which, the Gods had given them this remarkable admonition; for they were not to believe, what was sometimes represented on the stage, that any God ever descended from heaven to converse familiarly with men; but that these extraordinary sounds and agitations of the world, the air, the elements, were the onely voice and speech, which heaven made use of; that these admonished them of their danger, and pointed out the remedy; and that the Gods, by intimating so freely the way of their safety, had shewn, how easy it would be to pacify them, by pacifying onely their own animosities and discords among themselves."

ABOUT

ABOUT the middle of the summer, and before the time of chusing new Consuls, which was commonly *in August*, the Senate began to deliberate on the Provinces, which were to be assign'd to them at the expiration of their office. The Consular Provinces, about which the debate singly turned, were the two Gauls, which Cæsar now held; Macedonia, which Piso; and Syria, which Gabinius possessed. All who spoke before Cicero, excepting Servilius, were for taking one, or both the Gauls from Cæsar; which was what the Senate generally desired: but when it came to Cicero's turn, he gladly laid hold on the occasion to revenge himself on Piso and Gabinius; and exerted all his authority, to get them recalled with some marks of disgrace, and their Governments assign'd to the succeding Consuls; but as for Cæsar, his opinion was, that his command should be continued to him, till he had finished the war, which he was carrying on with such success, and settled the conquered countries. This gave no small offence; and the Consul Philippus could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, that he had more reason to be angry with Cæsar, than with Gabinius himself; since Cæsar was the author and raiser of all that storm, which had oppressed him. But Cicero replied, that, in this vote, he was not pursuing his private resentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to Cæsar; and that he could not be an enemy to one, who was deserving so well of his country: that a year or two more would complete his conquests, and reduce all Gaul to a state of peacefull subjection: that the cause was widely different between Cæsar and the other two; that Cæsar's administration was beneficial, prosperous, glorious to the Republic; theirs, scandalous, ignominious, burthfull to their subjects, and contemptible

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

A. Urb. 697. *contemptible to their enemies.*—In short, he  
 Cic. 5<sup>1</sup>. managed the debate so, that the Senate came  
 Coff. fully into his sentiments, and decreed the revoca-  
 Ch. CORNE-  
 LIUS LEN-  
 TULUS  
 MARCEL-  
 LINUS,  
 L. MARCIUS  
 PHILIPPUS.  
 cation of Piso and Gabinius [s].

He was now likewise engaged in pleading two considerable causes at the Bar; the one in defence of Cornelius Balbus, the other of M. Cælius. Balbus was a native of *Gades* in *Spain*, of a splendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and services to the Roman Generals in that Province, and especially in the *Sertorian war*, had the freedom of Rome conferred upon him by Pompey, in virtue of a law, which authorised him to grant it to as many as he thought proper. But Pompey's act was now called in question, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, that the City of Gades was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to Rome, which rendered its Citizens capable of that privilege. Pompey and Crassus were his advocates, and at their desire, Cicero also; who had the third place, or post of honor assigned to him, to give the finishing hand

[.] Itaque ego idem, qui nunc Consulibus sis, qui designati erunt, Syriam, Macedoniamque decerno—Quod si essent illi optimi viri, tamen ego mea sententia C. Cæsari nondum succedendum putarem. Qua de re dicam, Patres conscripti, quod sentio, atque illam interpellationem familiarissimi mei, qua paullo ante interrupta est oratio mea, non pertimescam. Negat me vir optimus inimiciorem debere esse Gabino, quam Cæsari; omnem enim illam

tempestatem, cui cesserim, Cæfare impulsore atque adjuvatore esse excitatam. Cui si primum sic respondeam, me communis utilitatis habere rationem, non doloris mei.—Hic me meus in Rempab. animus pristinus ac perennis, cum C. Cæsare reducit, reconciliat, restituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines existimant, nemini ego possum esse bene de Republica merenti non amicus.—Vid. Orat. de Provin. Conf. 8, 9, &c.

to

to the cause [t]. The prosecution was projected, not so much out of enmity to Balbus, as to his Patrons Pompey and Cæsar; by whose favor he had acquired great wealth and power; being at this time *General of the Artillery to Cæsar*, and the principal manager or steward of all his affairs. The Judges gave sentence for him, and confirmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raised afterwards by *Augustus*, to the *Consulate it self*: his Nephew also, *Young Balbus*, who was made free with him at the same time, obtained the honor of a triumph, for his victories over the Garamantes; and, as Pliny tells us, they were the only instances of *Foreigners*, and adopted *Citizens*, who had ever advanced themselves to either of those honors in Rome [u].

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNELIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

**CÆLIUS**, whom he next defended, was a young Gentleman of *Equestrian rank*, of great parts and accomplishments, trained under the discipline of Cicero himself; to whose care he was committed by his Father, upon his first introduction into the Forum: before he was of age to hold any Magistracy, he had distinguished himself by two public impeachments; the one of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, for conspiring against the state; the other of L. Atratinus, for bribery and corruption. Atra-

[t] Quo mihi difficilior est hic extremus perorandi locus.—Sed mos est gerendus, non modo Cornelio, cujas ego voluntati in ejus periculis nullo modo decesse possum; sed etiam Cn. Pompeio.—Pr. Balbo. 1, 2. &c.

[u] Fuit & Balbus Cornelius major Consul — Primus externorum, atque etiam in

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oceano genitorum usus illo honore.—Hist. N. 7. 43.

Garama caput Garamantum: omnia armis Romanis superata, & a Cornelio Balbo triumphata, uno omnium extero curru & Quiritium jure donato: quippe Gadibus nato Civitas Rom. cum Balbo majore patruo data est. Ib. 5. 5.

F

tinus's

A. Urb. 697. tinus's son was now revenging his Father's quarrel, and accused Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the assassination of Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embassy; and of an attempt to poyson Clodia, the sister of Clodius: he had been this Lady's Gallant; whose resentment for her favors flighted by him, was the real source of all his trouble. In this speech, Cicero treats the character and gallantries of Clodia, her Commerce with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiousness of youth, with such a vivacity of wit and humor, that makes it one of the most entertaining, which he has left to us. Cælius, who was truly a *Libertine*, lived on the Palatin hill, in a house which he hired of Clodius, and among the other proofs of his extravagance, it was objected, that a young man, in no public employment, shoud take a separate house from his Father, at the yearly rent of two hundred and fifty pounds: to which Cicero replied, that Clodius, he perceived, had a mind to sell his house, by setting the value of it so high; whereas in truth, it was but a little poultry dwelling, of small rent, scarce above eighty pounds per annum [x]. Cælius was acquitted, and ever after professed the highest regard for Cicero; with whom he held a correspondence of Letters, which will give us occasion to speak more of him, in the sequel of the History.

CICERO seems to have composed a little Poem about this time, in compliment to Cæsar: and excuses his not sending it to Atticus, “ be-“ cause Cæsar pressed to have it, and he had re-“ served no copy: though to confess the truth,

[x] Sumptus unius generis objectus est, habitationis: triginta millibus dixit is eum habitare. Nunc demum in-

telligo P. Clodii insulam esse venalem, cuius hic in aedicularis habitet, decem, ut opinor, millibus.—Pro Cælio. 7.

“ *be says*, he found it very difficult to digest the A. Urb. 697.  
 “ meanness of recanting his old principles. But Cic. 51.  
 “ adieu, *says be*, to all right, true, honest councils: Coss.  
 “ it is incredible, what perfidy there is in those,  
 “ who want to be Leaders, and who really  
 “ would be so, if there was any faith in them.  
 “ I felt what they were to my cost, when I was  
 “ drawn in, deserted, and betrayed by them: Cn. CORNE-  
 “ I resolved still to act on with them in all LIUS LEN-  
 “ things; but found them, the same, as before;  
 “ till by your advice I came at last to a better mind.  
 “ You will tell me, that you advised me indeed  
 “ to act, but not to write; 'tis true; but I was  
 “ willing to put myself under a necessity of ad-  
 “ hering to my new alliance, and preclude the  
 “ possibility of returning to those, who instead  
 “ of pitying me, as they ought, never cease en-  
 “ vying me.—But since those, who have no  
 “ power, will not love me, my business is, to  
 “ acquire the love of those who have: you will  
 “ say, I wish that you had done it long ago; I  
 “ know you wished it; and I was a mere Ass  
 “ for not minding you [y].”

L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

## IN

[y] Urgebar ab eo, ad rem. Idem erant, qui fu-  
 quem misi, & non habebam erant. Vix aliquando te  
 exemplar. quid? etiam, (du- auctore respivi. Dices, ea  
 dum circumrodo, quod devorante monuisse, quæ facerem,  
 randum est) subturpicula mihi non etiam ut scriberem. E-  
 videbatur *ταλαιπωδία*; sed val- go mehercule mihi' necessita-  
 leant recta, vera, honesta tem volui imponere hujus no-  
 confilia. Non est credibile, ræ conjunctionis, ne qua mihi  
 quæ sit perfidia in istis prin- liceret labi ad illos, qui e-  
 cipibus, ut volunt esse, & ut tiam tum cum misereri mei  
 essent, si quicquam haberent debent, non desinunt in-  
 fidei. Senseram, noram, in- videre. Sed tamen modici  
 ductus, relictus, projectus ab fuiimus ὑπόθεσις, ut scripsi—  
 iis: tamen hoc erat in animo, Sed quoniam qui nihil pos-  
 ut cum iis in Rep. consenti- sunt, ii me amare nolunt,  
 F 2 demus

A. Urb. 697.

Cic. 51.

Coff.

Cn. CORNE-

LIUS LEN-

TULUS

MARCEL-

LINUS,

L. MARCIUS

PHILIPPUS.

IN this year also, Cicero wrote that celebrated letter to Lucceius, in which he presses him, *to attempt the history of his transactions*: Lucceius was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had just finished *the history of the Italick and Marian civil wars*; with intent to carry it down through his own times, and, in the general relation, to include, as he had promised, a particular account of Cicero's acts: but Cicero, who was pleased with his stile and manner of writing, labors to engage him in this letter, to postpone the design of his continued history, and enter directly on that separate period, “from the beginning of his Consulship to his restoration; comprehending Catiline's conspiracy, and his own exil.” He observes, “that this short interval was distinguished with such a variety of incidents, and unexpected turns of fortune, as furnished the happiest materials, both to the skill of the writer, and the entertainment of the reader; that, when an author's attention was confined to a single and select subject, he was more capable of adorning it and displaying his talents, than in the wide and diffusive field of general history; but if he did not think the facts themselves worth the pains of adorning, that he would yet allow so much to friendship, to affection, and even to that favor, which he had so laudably disclaimed in his Prefaces, as not to confine himself scrupulously to the strict laws of history, and the rules of truth.—That, if he would undertake it, he would supply him with some rough

} demus operam, ut ab iis, qui possunt, diligamur. dices, vellem jampridem. Scio te voluisse, & me asinum germa-

num fuisse.—Ad Att. 4, 5.

Scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari.—Ad Quint. 2. 15.

“ memoirs,

“ memoirs, or commentaries, for the foundation A. Urb. 697.  
“ of his work; if not, that he himself should be Cic. 51.  
“ forced to do, what many had done before Coff.  
“ him, write his own life; a task, liable to Cn. CORNE-  
“ many exceptions and difficulties; where a LIUS LEN-  
“ man would necessarily be restrained by TULUS  
“ modesty, on the one hand, or partiality on the MARCEL-  
“ other, either from blaming, or praising him- LINUS,  
“ self, so much as he deserved, &c. [z]. L. MARCIUS.  
P. PHILIPPUS.

THIS letter is constantly alledged as a proof of Cicero's vanity, and excessive love of praise: but we must consider it as written, not by a philosopher, but a statesman, conscious of the greatest services to his country, for which he had been barbarously treated; and, on that account, the more eager to have them represented in an advantageous light; and impatient to taste some part of that glory when living, which he was sure to reap from them when dead: and as to the passage which gives the offence, where he presses his friend to *excede even the bounds of truth in his praises*; it is urged only, we see, conditionally, and upon an absurd or improbable supposition, *that Luceius did not think the acts themselves really laudable, or worth praising*: but whatever exceptions there may be to the morality, there can be none to the elegance and composition of the letter; which is filled with a variety of beautifull sentiments, illustrated by examples, drawn from a perfect knowledge of history; so that it is justly ranked among the capital pieces of the epistolary kind, which remain to us from antiquity. Cicero had employed more than ordinary pains upon it, and was pleased with his success in it: for he mentions it to Atticus with no small satisfac-

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNE-  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

tion, and wished him to get a copy of it from their friend Lucceius. The effect of it was, that Lucceius *undertook what Cicero desired*, and probably made some progress in it, since Cicero sent him *the memoirs*, which he promised, and Lucceius lived many years after, in an uninterrupted friendship with him, though neither this, nor any other of his writings had the fortune to be preserved to succeeding ages [a].

ALL people's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards Cæsar, who by the eclat of his victories, seemed to rival the fame of Pompey himself; and by his address and generosity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. He spent the winter at *Luca*; whither a vast concourse of all ranks resorted to him from *Rome*. Here Pompey and Crassus were again made friends by him; and a project formed, *that they should jointly seize the Consulship for the next year, though they had not declared themselves Candidates, within the usual time*. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a professed enemy, was one of the Competitors; who thinking himself sure of success, could not forbear bragging, *that he would effect, when Consul, what he could not do when Praetor, rescind Cæsar's acts, and recall him from his Government* [b]; which made them resolve at all hazards to defeat him.

[a] Epistola, Lucceio quam misi—fac ut ab eo summas: valde bella est: eumque ut adproperret adhorteris, &, quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias. Ad Att. 4. 6.

Tu Lucceio librum nostrum dabis. Ibid. 11.

[b] Sed cum L. Domitius

consulatus Candidatus palam minaretur, Consulem se effecturum, quod Praetor nequisset, adempturumque ei exercitus. Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem Provinciae suæ Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa alterum Consulatum peterent— Saeton. J. Cæs. 24.

What

What greatly favored their design was the obstinacy of the Tribun, C. Cato; who, to revenge himself on Marcellinus, for not suffering him to hold any assemblies of the people, for promulgating his laws, would not suffer the Consuls to hold any, for the choice of the Magistrates [c]. The Triumvirate supported him in this resolution till the year expired, and the Government fell into an Inter-regnum; when by faction and violence, and the terror of troops, poured into the City, they extorted the Consulship out of the bands of Domitius, and secured it to themselves [d]. This made Pompey generally odious, who in all this height of greatness, could not defend himself from the perpetual railleries and insults of his adversaries; which yet he bore with singular temper and patience. Marcellinus was constantly alarming the City with the danger of his power; and as he was haranguing one day on that subject, being encouraged by a general acclamation of the people; cry out, Citizens, says he, cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do so with safety [e]. Cn. Pilo also, a Young Nobleman, who had impeached Manilius Crispus, a man of Praetorian rank and notoriously guilty, being provoked by Pompey's protection of him, turned his attack against Pompey himself, and charged him with many crimes against the State; being asked therefore by Pompey, why he did not

A. Urb. 697.  
Cic. 51.  
Coff.  
Cn. CORNELIUS  
LIUS LEN-  
TULUS  
MARCEL-  
LINUS,  
L. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS.

[c] Consul—dies comitiales exemit omnes—C. Cato concionatus est, comitia haberi non futurum, si sibi cum populo agendi dies essent exempti. Ad Quint. 2. 6.

[d] Quid enim hoc miseris, quam eum, qui tot annos quod habet, designatus

Consul fuerit, Consulem fieri non posse? &c. Ad Att. 4. 8. Vid. Dio. p. 103.

[e] Acclamate, inquit, Quirites, acclamate, dum licet: jam enim vobis impune facere non licebit. — Val. Max. 6. 2.

A. Urb. 698. chuse to impeach him rather than the Criminal,  
 Cic. 52. he replied briskly, *that if he would give bail to  
 Coff. stand a trial, without raising a civil war, he would  
 soon bring him before his Judges [f].*

Cn. Pompeius Magus II. M. Licinius Crassus II. DURING the continuance of these tumults, occasioned by the election of the new Consuls, Cicero retired into the country; where he staid to the beginning of May, much out of humor, and disgusted both with the Republic and himself. Atticus's constant advice to him was, *to consult his safety and interest, by uniting himself with the men of power;* and they, on their part, were as constantly inviting him to it, by all possible assurances of their affection: but in his answers to Atticus he observes; "that their two cases were very different; that Atticus, having no peculiar character, suffered no peculiar indig-  
 nity; nothing but what was common to all the Citizens; whereas his own condition was such, that if he spoke what he ought to do, he should be looked upon as a madman; if what was usefull onely to himself, as a slave; if nothing at all, as quite oppressed and subdued; that his uneasiness was the greater, because he could not shew it without being thought ungratefull—shall I withdraw my self then, says be, from business, and retire to the port of ease? That will not be allowed to me. Shall I follow these Leaders to the wars, and after having refused to command, submit to be commanded? I will do so; for I see that it is your advice, and wish that I had always fol-

[f] Da, inquit, prædes quam de Manilii capite, in Reip. te, si postulatus fueris, concilium judices mittam. Ibid.  
 civile bellum non excitaturum; etiam de tuo prius,

" lowed

" I owed it: or shall I resume my post, and enter again into affairs? I cannot persuade myself to that, but begin to think Philoxenus in the right; who chose to be carried back to prison, rather than commend the Tyrant's verses. This is what I am now meditating; to declare my dislike at least of what they are doing [g]."

A. Urb. 698.

Cic. 52.

Coff.

Cn. POMPEI-  
us MAG-  
NUS II.M. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS II.

SUCH were the agitations of his mind at this time, as he frequently signifies in his letters: he was now at one of his Villa's on the delightfull shore of *Baiae*, the chief place of resort and pleasure for the great and rich; Pompey came thither in April, and no sooner arrived, than he sent him his compliments, and spent his whole time with him: they had much discourse on public affairs, in which Pompey expressed great uneasiness, and owned himself dissatisfied with his own part in them; but Cicero, in his account of the conversation, intimates some suspicion of his sincerity [b].

In

[g] Tu quidem, et si es natura πωλητὴς, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem: communis frueris nomine. Ego vero, qui, si loquor de Repub. quod oportet, insanus, si quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus & captus; quo dolore esse debeo? quo sum scilicet hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratius videar. Quid si cessare libeat & in otii portum confugere? Nequicquam. Immo etiam in bellum & in castra: ergo erimus δικῆς, qui ταῦτα esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi,

cui utinam semper paruisse, sic video placere. Reliqui est, Σπάρτας ἵλαχες, ταύτας κόσμους; non mehercule possum: & Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Veruntamen id ipsum mecum in his locis commentator, ut ista improbem.—Ad Att. 4. 6.

The story of Dionysius the Tyrant of Syracuse, and Philoxenus the Poet is told by Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 331.

[b] Pompeius in Cumamnum Parilibus venit: misit ad me statim qui salutem nunciaret: ad eum postridie mane

A. Urb. 698. In the midst of this company and diversion, Cicero's entertainment was in his studies; for he never resided anywhere without securing to himself the use of a good library: here he had the command of Faustus's, the son of Sylla, and son in law of Pompey; one of the best collections of Italy; gathered from the spoils of Greece, and especially of Athens, from which Sylla brought away many thousand volumes. He had no body in the house with him, but Dionysius, a learned Greek slave, whom Atticus had made free, and who was entrusted with the instruction of the two young Cicero's, the son and the Nephew: with this companion, he was devouring books, since the wretched state of the public had deprived him, as he tells us, of all other pleasures. I had much rather, says he to Atticus, be sitting on your little bench under Aristotle's picture, than in the Curule chairs of our Great ones; or taking a turn with you in your walks, than with him, whom it must, I see, be my fate to walk with: as for the success of that walk, let fortune look to it, or some God, if there be any, who takes care of us [i]. He mentions in

mane vadebam.—Ad Att.

4. x.

Nos hic cum Pompeio fui-  
mus: sane sibi disponsens;  
ut loquebatur; sic est enim  
in hoc homine dicendum.—  
In nos vero suavissime effusus;  
venit etiam ad me in Cumana-  
num a se.—Ib. 9.

[i] Ego hic pascor Biblio-  
theca Fausti. Fortasse tu pu-  
tabas his rebus Puteolanis &  
Lucrinensibus. Ne ista qui-  
dem defunt. Sed mehercule  
a ceteris oblectationibus defe-  
tor & voluntatibus propter

Rempub. sic literis sustentor  
& recreor; maloque in illa  
tua sedecula, quam habes sub  
imagine Aristotelis, sedere,  
quam in istorum sella curuli,  
tecumque apud te ambulare,  
quam cum eo, quocum video  
esse ambulandum. Sed de  
illa ambulatione fors videret,  
aut si qui est, qui curet Deus.  
Ib. 10.

Nos hic voramus literas  
cum homine mirifice, ita me-  
hercule sentio, Dionyfio. Ib.  
11.

the same letter a current report at Puteoli, that A. Urb. 698.  
*King Ptolemy was restored; and desires to know,*  
*what account they had of it at Rome: the report*  
*was very true; for Gabinius, tempted by Ptole-*  
*my's gold and the plunder of Ægypt; and en-*  
*couraged also, as some write, by Pompey himself,*  
*undertook to replace him on the Throne with*  
*bis Syrian army; which he executed with a high*  
*hand, and the destruction of all the King's en-*  
*mies; in open defiance of the authority of the Senate*  
*and the direction of the Sibyl: this made a great*  
*noise at Rome, and irritated the people to such a*  
*degree, that they resolved to make him feel their*  
*displeasure for it very severely at his return [k].*

Cic. 52.  
 Cn. POMPEI-  
 US MAC-  
 NUS II.  
 M. LICINIUS  
 CRASSUS II.

His Colleague Piso came home the first from his nearer Government of Macedonia; after an inglorious administration of a Province, whence no Consular Senator had ever returned, but to a triumph. For though on the account of some trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himself to be saluted Emperor by his army, yet the occasion was so contemptible, that he durst not send any letters upon it to the Senate: but after oppressing the subjects, plundering the allies, and losing the best part of his troops against the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waste the country, he ran away in disguise from a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he disbanded at last without their pay [l]. When he arrived at

Rome,

[k] Vid. Dio. 1. 39. p. 116. &c.

[l] Ex qua aliquot Praetorio imperio, Consulari quidem nemo rediit, qui incompli- fuit, qui non trium- pharit. In Pison. 16.

Ut ex ea provincia, quæ fuit ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis, nullas fit ad Senatum litteras mittere ausus. — Nuncius ad Senatum missus est nullus. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 698. *Rome*, he stript his Fasces of their laurel, and entered the City obscurely and ignominiously, without any other attendance than his own retinue [m]. On his first appearance in public, trusting to the authority of his son-in-law, Cæsar, he had the hardiness to attack Cicero, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him: but when he began to reproach him with the disgrace of his exil, the whole Assembly interrupted him by a loud and general clamor [n]. Among other things, with which he upbraided Cicero, he told him, *that it was not any envy for what he bad done, but the vanity of what he bad said, which had driven him into exil; and that a single verse of his,*

*Cedant arma Togæ, concedat laurea lingua,*

was the cause of all his calamity; by provoking Pompey to make him feel, how much *the power of the General was superior to that of the Orator*: he put him in mind also, *that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his spleen only against such, whom he bad reason to contemn, without daring to*

Mitto de amissa maxima  
parte exercitus—20.—

Dyrrhachium ut venit de-  
cedens, obsefus est ab iis ip-  
sis militibus—Quibus cum ju-  
ratus affirmasset, se, quæ de-  
berentur, postero die persolu-  
turum; domum se abdidit:  
inde nocte intempesta crepi-  
datus, veste servili nave-  
conscendit.—38.—

[m] Sic iste—Macedoni-  
cus Imperator in urbem se  
intulit, ut nullius negotiato-  
ris obscurissimi redditus un-

quam fuerit desertior.—23.

Cum tu—detractam e cruentis  
fascibus lauream ad por-  
tam Esquiline abjecisti.—  
Ib. 30.

[n] Tune ausus es meum  
discessum illum—maledisti  
& contumelie loco ponere?  
Quo quidem tempore cepi,  
Patres conscripti, fructum im-  
mortalem vestri in me amo-  
ris—qui non admurmuratione,  
sed voce & clamore ab-  
jecki hominis—petulantiam  
fregisti.—Ib. 14.

*meddle with those, who had more power, and where his resentment was more due [o].* But it had been better for him, to have stifled his complaints and suffered Cicero to be quiet ; who, exasperated by his imprudent attack, made a Reply to him upon the spot in an *Invective speech*, the severest perhaps, that was ever spoken by any man, on the person, the parts, the whole life and conduct of Piso ; which as long as the *Roman* name subsists, must deliver down a most detestable character of him to all posterity. As to the verse, with which he was urged, he ridicules the absurdity of Piso's application of it, and tells him,

" that he had contrived a very extraordinary punishment for poor poets, if they were to be banished for every bad line : that he was a Critic of a new kind ; not an Aristarchus, but a Grammatical Phalaris ; who instead of expunging the verse, was for destroying the author : that the verse itself could not imply any affront to any man whatsoever : that he was an ass, and did not know his letters, to imagine, that by the Gown, he meant his own gown ; or by arms, the arms of any particular General ; and not to see, that he was speaking onely in the Poetical stile ; and as the one was the emblem of peace, the other of war, that he could mean nothing else, than that the tumults and dangers, with which the City had been threatened, must now give way to peace and tranquillity : that he might have

[o] Non ulla tibi, inquit, Paullo ante dixisti me cum invidia nocuit, sed ~~versus~~ <sup>versus</sup> tui. iis configere, quos despicerem ; non attingere eos, qui excitavit — Haec res tibi fluctus illos plus possent, quibus iratus esse deberem. — Ib. 29, 30, 31.  
Togæ, summum Imperato-rem esse cessurum.—

“ stuck

A. Urb. 698.

Cic. 52.

Coll.

Cn. POMPEI-

US MAG-

NUS II.

M. LICINIUS

CRASSUS II.

- A. Urb. 698. " stuck a little indeed in explaining the latter  
 Cic. 52. " part of the verse, if Piso himself had not  
 Coss.  
 Cn. POMPEI- " helped him out; who, by trampling his own  
 us MAG- " laurel under foot at the Gates of *Rome*, had  
 nus II. " declared how much he thought it inferior to  
 M. LICINIUS " every other kind of honor — that as for  
 Crassus II. " Pompey, it was silly to think, that after the  
 " volumes, which he had written in his praise,  
 " one *silly verse* should make him at last his ene-  
 " my: but that in truth, he never was his ene-  
 " my; and if, on a certain occasion, he had  
 " shewn any coldness towards him, it was all  
 " owing to the perfidy and malice of such as  
 " Piso; who were continually infusing jealousies  
 " and suspicions into him, till they had removed  
 " from his confidence, all who loved either him,  
 " or the Republic [p]."

ABOUT this time, the Theater, which Pompey had built at his own charge, for the use and ornament of the City, was solemnly opened and dedicated: it is much celebrated by the ancients, for its grandeur and magnificence: the plan was taken from the Theater of *Mytilene*, but greatly

[p] Quoniam te non Aris-  
 tarchum, sed Grammaticum  
 Phalarim habemus, qui non  
 notam apponas ad malum  
 versum, sed poetam armis  
 prosequare— Quid nunc te,  
 Afine, literas doceam? Non  
 dixi hanc togam, qua sum  
 amictus, nec arma, scutum  
 & gladium unius Imperato-  
 ris: sed quod pacis est infi-  
 ne & otii, toga; contra au-  
 tem arma, tumultus ac belli,  
 more poetarum locutus; hoc  
 intelligi volui, bellum ac tu-  
 multum paci atque otio con-  
 ciliorum—in altero— hære-

rem, nisi tu expidisses. Nam  
 cum tu—detractam e cruentis  
 fascibus lauream ad portam Esquiline abjecisti, in-  
 dicasti, non modo amplissimæ,  
 sed etiam minimæ laudi  
 lauream concessisse— Vis  
 Pompeium isto versu inimi-  
 cum mihi esse factum— Pri-  
 mo nonne compensabit cum  
 uno versiculo tot mea volu-  
 mina landum suarum? Ves-  
 træ fraudes, —vestræ crimi-  
 nations infidiarum mearum  
 —effecerunt ut ego exclude-  
 rer—&c. In Pilon. 30, 31.

enlarged,

enlarged, so as to receive commodiously forty thousand people. It was surrounded by a Portico, to shelter the company in bad weather, and had a Curia, or Senate-house annexed to it; with a Basilica also, or grand Hall, proper for the sittings of Judges, or any other public business: which were all finished at Pompey's cost, and adorned with a great number of Images, formed by the ablest masters of men and women, famed for something very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters [q]. Atticus undertook the care of placing all these statues, for which Pompey charged Cicero with his thanks to him [r]: but what made this Fabric the more surprising and splendid, was a beautifull Temple, erected at one end of it to Venus the Conqueress; and so contrived, that the seats of the Theater might serve as stairs to the Temple. This was designed, it is said, to avoid the reproach of making so vast an expence for the meer use of luxury; the Temple being so placed, that those, who came to the shows, might seem to come to worship the Goddess [s].

[q] Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis Theatri mirabilis fama posuit imagines; ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingenii elaboratas: inter quas legitur Eutyche, a viginti liberis rogo illata, enim triconta partus; Alcippe, Elephantum. Plin. H. 7. 3.

[r] Tibi etiam gratias agebat, quod signa compo- nenda suscepis. Ad Att. 4. 9.

[s] Quam Pompeius, inquit, adem Victoriae dedicaturus esset, cuius gradus vicem Theatri essent, &c. A.

Gell. X. 1. Vid. Tertull. de Spectac.

Dion. Cassius mentions it, as a tradition that he had met with, that this Theater was not really built by Pompey, but by his Freedman, Demetrius, who had made himself richer than his master, by attending him in his wars; and to take off the envy of raising so vast an estate, laid out a considerable part of it upon the Theater, and gave the honor of it to Pompey. Dio. p. 107. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8.

A. Urb. 69<sup>8</sup>.  
Cic. 52.  
Coff.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS II.  
M. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS II.

A. Urb. 698.

Cic. 52.  
Coff.

Cn. POMPEI.

us MAG-  
NUS II.

M. LICINIUS

CRASSUS II.

At the solemnity of this dedication, Pompey entertained the people with the most magnificent shews, which had ever been exhibited in Rome: in the Theater, were stage plays, prizes of music, wrestling, and all kinds of bodily exercises: in the Circus, horse-races, and bountings of wild beasts for five days successively; in which five hundred lions were killed; and on the last day, twenty elephants: whose lamentable howling, when mortally wounded, raised such a commiseration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great sense and love to man, that it destroyed the whole diversion of the shew, and drew curses on Pompey himself, for being the author of so much cruelty [*i*]. So true it is, what Cicero observes of this kind of prodigality; that there is no real dignity or lasting honor in it; that it satiates, while it pleases, and is forgotten, as soon as it is over [*u*]. It gives us however a genuine Idea of the wealth and grandor of these principal subjects of Rome; who, from their private revenues, could raise such noble buildings, and provide such shews, from the several quarters of the world, which no monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

[*v*] Magnificentissima vero Pompeii nostri munera in seconde Consulatu. De Off. 2. 16.

Pompeii quoque altero Consulatu, dedicatione Tempeli Veneris Victoris, pugnare in Circo viginti Elephantes—Amissa fugae spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu querentes supplicavere, quadam fese lamentatione complorantes, tanto populi dolore, ut oblitus Imperatoris—Flens uni-

versus consurgeret, dirasque Pompeio, quas ille mox lait, paenas imprecaretur—Plin. 1. 8. 7. Vid. Dio. 1. 39. p. 107. It. Plutar. in Pomp.

[*w*] In his infinitis—sumptibus, nihil nos magnopere mirari: cum nec necessitatibus subveniatur, nec dignitas augeatur: ipfaque illa delectatio multitudinis sit ad breve exiguumque tempus—in quo tamen ipso una cum satietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis.—De Off. 2. 16.

CICERO,

CICERO, contrary to his custom, was present at these shews, out of compliment to Pompey, and gives a particular account of them to his friend M. Marius, who could not be drawn by them from his books and retreat in the country.

“ The old actors, *says he*, who had left the stage,  
“ came on to it again, in honor to Pompey ; but  
“ for the sake of their own honor, ought rather  
“ to have staid away : our friend Æsopus ap-  
“ peared to be quite funk and worn out ; so that  
“ all people seemed willing to grant him his qui-  
“ etus : for in attempting to raise his voice,  
“ where he had occasion to swear, his speech  
“ faultered and failed him.—In the other  
“ plays, the vast apparatus, and crowded machi-  
“ nery, which raised the admiration of the mob,  
“ spoiled the entertainment : six hundred mules,  
“ infinite treasures of plate, troops of horse and  
“ foot fighting on the stage.—The huntings  
“ indeed were magnificent, but what pleasure to  
“ a man of taste, to see a poor weak fellow torn  
“ to pieces by a fierce beast ; or a noble beast  
“ struck dead with a spear : the last day’s shew  
“ of Elephants, instead of delight, raised a ge-  
“ neral compassion, and an opinion of some rela-  
“ tion between that animal and man : but lest  
“ you should think me wholly happy, in these  
“ days of diversion, I have almost burst myself  
“ in the defence of your friend Gallus Caninius :  
“ if the City would be as kind to me, as they  
“ are to Æsopus, I would willingly quit the  
“ stage, to live with you, and such as you, in  
“ a polite and liberal ease [x].”

THE City continued for a great part of this summer without its annual Magistrates : for the

A. Urb. 698.  
Cic. 52.  
Coff.

CN. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS II.

M. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS II.

**A. Urb. 698.** elections, which had been postponed from the last year, were still kept off by the Consuls, till they could settle them to their minds, and secure them to their own Creatures : which they effected at last, except in the case of two *Tribuns*, who slipt into the office against their will : but the most remarkable repulse was, of M. Cato *from the Praetorship*, which was given to Vatinius ; from the best Citizen, to the worst. Cato, upon his return from the *Cyprian voyage*, was complimented by the Senate for that service with the offer of the Praetorship in an extraordinary manner [y]. But he declined the compliment, thinking it more agreeable to his character, to obtain it in the ordinary way, by the free choice of the people : but when the election came on, in which he was thought sure of success, Pompey broke up the assembly, on pretence of somewhat inauspicious in the heavens, and by intrigue and management got Vatinius declared Praetor, who had been repulsed the year before with disgrace from the Aedileship [z] : but this being carried by force of money, and likely to produce an impeachment of Vatinius, Afranius moved for a decree, that the Praetors should not be questioned for bribery after their election ; which passed against the general humor of the Senate ; with an exception onely, of sixty days, in which they were to be considered as private men. The pretence for the decree was, that so much of the year being spent, the whole would pass without any Praetors at all, if a liberty of im-

[y] Cujus ministerii gratia  
Senatus relationem interponi  
jubebat, ut Prætoriis Comitiis  
extra ordinem ratio ejus  
haberetur. Sed ipse id fieri  
passus non est.—Val. Max.

4. 1. Plutar. in Cato.

[z] Proxima dementiae suf-  
fragia—quoniam quem ho-  
norem Catoni negaverunt,  
Vatinio dare coacti sunt. Val.  
Max. 7. 5. Plut. in Pomp.

peaching was allowed : from this moment, says A. Urb. 698. Cicero, they have given the exclusion to Cato ; and, being masters of all, resolve that all the world shall know it [a].

CICERO's Palatin house, and the adjoining Portico of Catulus were now finished ; and as he and his brother were the Curators likewise of the repairs of the Temple of Tellus [b], so they seem to have provided some Inscriptions for these buildings in honor and memory of themselves : but since no public Inscriptions could be set up, unless by public authority, they were apprehensive of an opposition from Clodius. Cicero mentioned the case to Pompey, who promised his assistance, but advised him to talk also with Crassus, which he took occasion to do, as he attended him home one day from the Senate. Crassus readily undertook the affair, and told him, that Clodius had a point to carry for himself by Pompey's help and his, and that if Cicero would not oppose Clodius, he was persuaded that Clodius would not disturb him ; to which Cicero consented. Clodius's busines was, to procure one of those free or honorary Lieutenantancies, that he might go with a public character to Byzantium, and King Bogaetus, to gather the money, which they owed him for past services. As it is a mere money matter, says Cicero, I shall not concern myself about it, whether I gain my own point or not, though Pompey and Cras-

[a] A. D. III. id. Maii S. C. factum est de ambitu in Afranii sententiam.—Sed magno cum gemitu Senatus. Consules non sunt perfecuti eorum sententias : qui Afranio cum essent assensu addiderunt, ut Praetores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati

essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa ? Tenent omnia, idque ita omnes intelligere volunt. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

[b] Quod Aedes Telluris est curationis meæ. De Harusp. resp. 14.

A. Urb. 698. *sus have jointly undertaken it: but he seems to have obtained what he desired, since besides the intended Inscriptions, he mentions a statue also of his Brother, which he had actually erected at the Temple of Tellus [c].*

Cic. 52.  
Coff.  
**CN. POMPEI-**  
**US MAG-**  
**NUS II.**

**M. LICINIUS**  
**CRASSUS II.**

**TREBONIUS**, one of the Tribuns, in the interests of the Triumvirate, published a law, for the assignment of Provinces to the Consuls for the term of five years: to Pompey, Spain and Afric; to Crassus, Syria, and the Partian war, with a power of raising what forces they thought fit: and that Caesar's commission should be renewed also for five years more. The law was opposed by the generality of the Senate; and above all, by Cato, Favonius, and two of the Tribuns, C. Ateius Capito and P. Aquilius Gallus: but the superior force of the Consuls and the other Tribuns prevailed, and cleared the Forum by violence of all their opponents.

The law no sooner passed, than Crassus began to prepare for his Eastern expedition; and was in such haste to set forward, that he left Rome above two months before the expiration of his Consulship: his eagerness to involve the Republic in a desperate war, for which the Partians had given no pretext, was generally detested by the City: *sbe*

[c] Multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium. Cumque ego egism de istis operibus & inscriptionibus, per mihi benigne respondit.

—Cum Crasso se dixit loqui velle, mihiique, ut idem facerem suafit. Crassum Consulem ex Senatu domum reduxi: suscepit rem, dixitque esse quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet se, & per Pom-

peium consequi. Putare se, si ego eum non impidirem, posse me adipisci sine contentione quod vellem — &c. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

Redditum est mihi pervetus Epistola—in qua de Æde Telluris, & de porticu Catuli me adiunctorum. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris etiam tuam statuam locavi. Ib. 3. 1.

*Tribun Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auspices; and denounced direful imprecations against it; but finding Crassus determined to march in defiance of all religion, he waited for him at the gates of the City, and having dressed up a little altar, stood ready with a fire and sacrifice to devote him to destruction [d]. Ateius was afterwards turned out of the Senate by Appius, when he was Censor, for falsifying the auspices on this occasion; but the miserable fate of Crassus supported the credit of them; and confirmed the vulgar opinion of the inevitable force of those ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all, who presumed to contemn them [e]. Appius was one of the Augurs; and the only one of the College, who maintained the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination; for which he was laughed at by the rest; who charged him also with an absurdity, in the reason, which he subscribed, for his Censure upon Ateius, viz. that he had falsified the auspices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman people: for if the auspices, they said, were false, they could not possibly have any effect, or be the cause of that calamity [f]. But though they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of*

A. Urb. 69<sup>a</sup>  
Cic. 52.  
Coff.  
Cn. Pompei-  
us Mag-  
nus II.  
M. Licinius  
Crassus II.

[d] Dio. 1. 39. p. 109.  
Plut in Crass.—

[e] M. Crasso quid acciderit, videamus, dirarum obnuntione neglecta. — De Divin. 1. 16.

[f] Solos enim multorum annorum memoria, non decentandi Augurii, sed divinandi tenuit disciplinam: quem irridebant College tui, eumque tum Pifidam, tum

Sororum Augurem esse dicebant. Quibus nulla videbatur in Auguriis aut Auspiciis praefensio—Ib. 47.

In quo Appius, bonus Augur — non satis scieater — Civem egregium, Ateium, Censor notavit, quod ementitum auspicia subscriperit. — Quæ si falsa fuisse nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis.—Ib. 16.

- A. Urb. 698. Crassus : for the terror of them had deeply pos-  
 Cic. 5<sup>2</sup>. fessed the minds of the soldiers, and made them  
 Coss.  
 Cn. Pompei- turn every thing which they saw, or heard, *to an omen of their ruin*; so that when the enemy  
 us Mag- appeared in sight, they were struck with such a  
 nus II. panic, that they had not courage or spirit enough  
 M. Licinius left, to make a tolerable resistance.  
 Crassus II.

Crassus was desirous before he left *Rome*, to be reconciled to Cicero : they had never been real friends, but generally opposite in party ; and Cicero's early engagements with Pompey kept him of course at a distance from Crassus : their coldness was still increased on account of Catiline's plot, of which Crassus was strongly suspected ; and charged Cicero with being the author of that suspicion : they carried it however on both sides with much decency ; out of regard to Crassus's son, Publius, a professed admirer and disciple of Cicero ; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their secret grudge into an open quarrel. The debate was upon Gabinius, whom Crassus undertook to defend, with many severe reflections upon Cicero ; who replied with no less acrimony, and gave a free vent *to that old resentment of Crassus's many injuries, which had been gathering, he says, several years, but lain dormant so long, that he took it to be extinguished, till, from this accident, it burst out into a flame.* The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate ; who highly applauded Cicero, in hopes to embroil him with the *Triumvirate* : but Pompey labored hard to make it up, and Cæsar also by letter expressed his uneasiness upon it ; and begged it of Cicero, as a favor, to be reconciled with Crassus : so that he could not hold out against an intercession so powerfull, and so well enforced by his affection *to young Crassus* : their reconciliation was confirmed

confirmed by mutual professions of a sincere friend- A. Urb. 69.  
ship for the future ; and Crassus, to give a public C. Cic. 52.  
testimony of it to the City, invited himself, just be- Coll.  
fore his departure, to sup with Cicero ; who enter- CN. POMPEI-  
tained him in the gardens of his son-in-law, Cras- us MAG-  
sus II. M. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS II.

CICERO spent a great part of the summer in the country, in study and retreat ; pleased, he says, that he was out of the way of those squabbles, where he must either have defended, what he did not approve, or deserted the man, whom he ought not to forsake [i]. In this retirement, he put the last hand to his Piece, on the Complete Orator, which he sent to Atticus, and promises also to send to Lentulus ; telling him, that he had intermitted his old task of orations, and betaken himself to the milder

[g] Repentinam ejus Gabini defensionem — Si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulisset : sed cum me disputantem, non lassetem lasset, exarsi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisse) sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum, tamen insciente me fuisse, omne repente apparuit — Cumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil unquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam ; Cesarque per literas maxima se molestia ex illa contentio-

ne affectum ostenderet : habui non temporum solum memorum rationem, sed etiam naturae. Crassusque ut quasi testata populo Rom. esset nostra gratia, pene a meis lariibus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, coenavit apud me in mei Generi Crassipedis hortis.  
—Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[b] Ad Quint. 3. 7. Ad Att. 4. 12.

[i] Ego auiisse me in altercationibus, quas in Senatu factas audio, fero non moleste ; nam aut defenduisse quod non placaret, aut defuisse cui non oportaret. Ad Att. 4. 13.

- A. Urb. 698. and gentler studies; in which he had finished to his  
 Cic. 52. satisfaction three books, by way of dialogue, on the  
 Coff. subject of the Orator, in Aristotle's manner; which  
 Cn. Pompei- would be of use to his son, young Lentulus, being  
 us Mag- drawn, not in the ordinary way of the schools, and  
 nus II. the dry method of precepts, but comprehending all  
 M. Licinius that the ancients, and especially Aristotle and Isocrates  
 Crassus II. had taught on the Institution of an Orator [k].

THE three books contain as many Dialogues, upon the character and Idea of the perfect Orator: the principal speakers were P. Crassus, and M. Antonius; persons of the first dignity in the Republic, and the greatest Masters of Eloquence, which Rome had then known: they were near forty years older than Cicero, and the first Romans, who could pretend to dispute the prize of Oratory with the Greeks; and who carried the latin tongue to a degree of perfection, which left little or no room for any farther improvement [l]. The disputation was undertaken at the desire, and for the instruc-

[k] Scripsi etiam, (nam ab orationibus dijungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores musas) scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione & dialogo de Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis: ac omnem antiquorum, & Aristoteliam & Isocrateam rationem Oratioriam complectuntur. Ep. fam. 1. 9.

[l] Crassus — quatuor & triginta tum habebat annos, totidemque annis mihi aetate praestabat — Trianio ipso mi-

nor quam Antonius, quod idcirco posui, ut dicendi latine prima materitas qua aetate extitisset, posset notari; & intelligeretur, jam ad summum pene esse perductam, ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a Philosophia, a jure civili, ab historia fuisset instructior. Brut.

275.

Nunc ad Antonium, Crassumque pervenimus. Nam ego sic exstimo hos Oratores maximos: & in his primum cum Graecorum gloria latine dicendi copiam aquatam — Ib. 250.

tion

*tion of two Young Orators of great hopes, C. Cotta A. Urb. 698.  
and P. Sulpicius, who were then beginning to  
florish at the Bar: Cicero himself was not present  
at it, but being informed by Cotta, of the principal  
heads and general argument of the whole, supplied  
the rest from his own invention, agreeably to the  
different stile and manner, which those great men  
were known to pursue; and with design to do honor  
to the memory of them both, but especially of Crassus,  
who had been the director of his early studies; and  
to whom he assigns the defence of that notion,  
which he himself always entertained, of the char-  
acter of a Consummate Speaker [m].*

Cic. 52.

Coff.

Cn. POMPEI-

US MAG-

NUS II.

M. LICINIUS

CRASSUS II.

ATTICUS was exceedingly pleased with this treatise, and commended it to the skies; but objected to the propriety of dismissing Scævola from the disputation, after he had once been introduced into the first dialogue. Cicero defends himself by the example of their God, Plato, as he calls him, in his book on Government; where the Scene being laid in the house of an old Gentleman, Cephalus, the old man, after bearing a part in the first conversation, excuses himself, that he must go to prayers and returns no more; Plato not thinking it suitable to the character of his age, to be detained in the Company through so long a discourse: that, with greater reason therefore, he had used the same caution in the case of Scævola; since it was not decent to suppose a person of his dignity, extreme age,

[m] *Nos enim, qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus, & quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos, ac sententias hujus disputationis tradidisset, quo in genere orationis utrumque Oratorem cognoveramus, id ipsum sumus in eo-*

*ram sermone adsumbare con-  
nati.—De Orat. 3. 4.*

*Ut ei, (Crasso) et si nequa-  
quam parem illius ingenio,  
at pro nostro tamen studio  
meritam gratiam debitamque  
referamus.—Ibid.—*

and

A. Urb. 698. and infirm health, spending several days successively  
 Cic. 52. in another man's house : that the first day's dialogue  
 Coss. related to his particular profession, but the other two  
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. turned chiefly on the rules and precepts of the art,  
 where it was not proper for one of Scævola's temper  
 M. Licinius Crassus II. and character to assist only as a bearer [n]. This  
 admirable work remains intire, a standing monu-  
 ment of Cicero's parts and abilities ; which, while  
 it exhibits to us the Idea of a perfect Orator,  
 and marks out the way, by which Cicero formed  
 himself to that character, it explains the reason  
 likewise why no body has since equalled him, or  
 ever will, till there be found again united, what  
 will hardly be found single in any man, *the same*  
*industry, and the same parts.*

CICERO returned to Rome, about the middle of November, to assist at Milo's wedding, who married Fausta, a rich and noble Lady, the daughter of Sylla the Dictator [o] ; with whom, as some writers say, he found Sallust the Historian in bed not long after, and had him soundly flogged, before he dismissed him. The Consuls, Pompey and Crassus, having reaped all the fruit, which they had proposed from the Consulship, of securing to themselves the Provinces, which they wanted, were not much concerned about the choice of their successors ; so that after postponing the election to the end of the year, they gave way at last to their enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus ; being content to have joined with him their friend, Appius Claudius Pulcher.

[n] Quod in iis libris, quo laudas, personam desideras Scævolæ. Non eam temere dimovi, sed feci idem, quod in *πολιτείᾳ* Deus ille noster, Plato. Cum in *Piræum* Socrates venisset ad

Cephalum, locupletem & festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo haberetur adest in disputando Senex—&c. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[o] Ad Att. 4. 13. 5. 8.

As

As soon as the new year came on, Crassus's enemies began to attack him in the Senate: their design was to revoke his commission, or abridge it at least of the power of making war upon the Parthians: but Cicero exerted himself so strenuously in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm contest with the Consuls themselves and several of the Consular Senators. He gave Crassus an account of the debate by letter, in which he tells him, *that he had given proof, not only to his friends and family, but to the whole City, of the sincerity of his reconciliation*; and assures him of his resolution to serve him, with all his pains, advice, authority, interest, in every thing great or small, which concerned himself, his friends, or clients; and bids him look upon that Letter, as a league of amity, which on his part should be inviolably observed [p].

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

THE month of February being generally employed in giving audience to foreign Princes and Embassadors, Antiochus, King of Comagene, a territory on the banks of the Euphrates [q], preferred a petition to the Senate for some new honor or privilege, which was commonly decreed to Princes in alliance with the Republic: but Cicero, being in a rallying humor, made the petition so ridiculous, *that the house rejected it, and at his motion, reserved likewise out of his jurisdiction one of his principal Towns, Zeugma, in which was the chief bridge and passage over the Euphrates*. Cæsar, in his Consulship, had granted to this King the honor of the Praetexta, or the robe of the Roman Magistrates; which was always disagree-

[p] Has literas velim ex-  
istimes foederis habituras esse  
vim, non epistolæ; meque  
ea, quæ tibi promitto ac re-

cipio, sanctissime esse obser-  
vaturum—Ep. fam. 5. 8.

[q] Ep. fam. 15. 1, 3, 4.

A. Urb. 699. able to the nobility, who did not care to see  
 Cic. 53. these petty Princes put upon the same rank with  
 Coss. themselves; so that Cicero, calling out upon the  
 L. DOMITIUS nobles, will you, says he, who refused the Praetex-  
 AHENO- ta to the King of Bosra, suffer this Comagenian  
 BARBUS. A. CLAVDIUS to strut in purple! But this disappointment was  
 PULCHER. not more mortifying to the King, than it was to  
 the Consuls, whose best perquisites were drawn  
 from these compliments, which were always re-  
 paid by rich presents; so that Appius, who had  
 been lately reconciled to Cicero, and paid a particu-  
 lar court to him at this time, applied to him by At-  
 ticus and their common friends, to suffer the poti-  
 tions of this sort to pass quietly, nor destroy the usual  
 harvest of the month, and make it quite barren to  
 him [r].

CICERO made an excursion this spring to vi-  
 sit his several seats and estates in the country;  
 and, in his *Cuman Villa*, began a *Treatise on*  
*politics*; or on the best state of a City, and the du-  
 ties of a Citizen: he calls it a great and laborious  
 work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in  
 it; if not, I shall throw it, says he, into that  
 sea, which is now before me, and attempt something  
 else, since it is impossible for me to be idle. It was  
 drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which the  
 greatest persons of the old Republic were intro-

[r] De Comageno Rege,  
 quod rem totam discussoram,  
 mihi & per se & per Pompe-  
 nium blanditur Appius. Vi-  
 det enim, si hoc genere di-  
 cendi utar in cæteris, Febru-  
 arium sterilem futurum. E-  
 dumque lusi jocose satis: ne-  
 que solum illud extorsi oppi-  
 dulum, quod erat positum in  
 Euphrate, Zeugma; sed præ-  
 terea togam ejus prætextam,

quam erat adeptus Cæsare  
 Consule, magno hominum ri-  
 su cavillatus. — Vos autem  
 homines nobiles, qui Bosre-  
 num Prætextatum non cereba-  
 tis, Comagenum feretis? —  
 Multa dixi in ignobilem Re-  
 gem, quibus totus est explo-  
 sus. Quo genere commotus  
 Appius totum me amplexa-  
 tur.—Ad Quint. 2. 12.

duced,

duced, debating on the origin and best constitution of government; Scipio, Lælius, Philus, Manilius, &c. [s]. The whole was to be distributed into nine books, each of them the subject of one day's disputation: when he had finished the two first, they were read in his *Tusculan Villa* to some of his friends; where Sallust, who was one of the company, advised him to change his plan, and treat the subject in his own person, as Aristotle had done before him; alledging, that the introduction of those ancients, instead of adding gravity, gave an air of Romance to the argument, which would have the greater weight, when delivered from himself, as being the work, not of a little Soprist, or contemplative Theorist, but of a Consular Senator, and Statesman, conversant in the greatest affairs, and writing what his own practice, and the experience of many years, had taught him to be true. These reasons seemed very plausible, and made him think of altering his scheme; especially since by throwing the scene so far back, he precluded himself from touching on those important revolutions of the Republic, which were later than the period, to which he confined himself: but after some deliberation, being unwilling to throw away the two books, already finished, with which he was much pleased, he resolved to stick to the old plan, and as he had

[s] Scribebam illa, que dixeram ~~voluſa~~, spissum fane opus & operosum: sed si ex sententia successor, bene erit opera posita; fin minus, in illud ipsum mate de jiciemus, quod scribentes spectamus; aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. Ib. 14.

Hanc ego, quam institui, de Repub. disputationem in Africani personam & Phili, & Lælii & Manilii contuli, &c.—Rein, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum & gravem, & plurimi otii, quod ego maxime egeo. Ad Att. 4. 16.

preferred

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

- A. Urb. 699. preferred it from the first, *for the sake of avoiding offence*, so he pursued it without any other alteration, than that of reducing the number of books from *nine to six*; in which form they were afterwards published, and survived him for several ages, though now unfortunately lost [*t*].
- Cic. 53.  
Coff.
- L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,
- A. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER.

FROM the fragments of this work, which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy; *of the origin of Society*; *the nature of law and obligation*; *the eternal difference of right and wrong*; *of justice being the only good policy, or foundation either of public or private prosperity*: so that he calls *bis six books, so many pledges, given to the public, for the integrity of bis conduct* [*u*]. The younger Scipio was the principal speaker of the Dialogue, whose part it was to assert the

[*t*] Sermo autem in novem & dies & libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis & de optimo cive.—Hi libri, cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur, audiente Sallustio; admonitus sum ab illo, multo majore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de Repub. præfertim cum essem, non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis, & is, qui in maximis versatus in Repub. rebus essem: quæ tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea vifsum iri facta esse.—Commo-  
vit me, & eo magis, quod maximos motus nostræ civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum actas qui loquebantur.

Ego autem id ipsum tum e-  
ram fecutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offendarem quempiam.—Ad Quint. 3. 5.

This will solve that variation which we find in his own account of this work, in different parts of his writings: and why Fannius, who in some places is declared to be a speaker in it, [Ad Att. 4. 16. Ad Quint. 3. 5.] is denied to be so in others; being dropt, when the number of books was contracted.

[*u*] Cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus me ipsum obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. Ad Att. 6. 1.

*excellence*

excellence of the Roman constitution, preferably to that of all other states [x] : who, in the sixth book, under the fiction of a dream, which is still preserved to us, takes occasion to inculcate the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and a future state, in a manner so lively and entertaining, that it has been the standing pattern ever since to the wits of succeeding ages, for attempting the same method of instilling moral lessons, in the form of dreams or visions.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHAR.

He was now drawn at last into a particular intimacy and correspondence of Letters with Cæsar ; who had long been endeavouring to engage him to his friendship, and with that view, had invited his brother, Quintus, to be one of his *Lieutenants in Gaul* ; where Quintus, to pay his court the better to his General, joined heartily in pressing his Brother to an union with him, instead of adhering so obstinately to Pompey, who, as he tells him, was neither so sincere, nor so generous a friend as Cæsar [y]. Cicero did not dislike the advice, and expressed a readiness to comply with it, of which Balbus gave an intimation to Cæsar, with a Letter also inclosed, from Cicero himself ; but the packet happening to fall into water, the Letters were all destroyed, except a scrap or two of Balbus's, to which Cæsar returned answer ; I perceive, that you had written somewhat about Cicero, which I could not make out ; but as far as I can guess, it was something rather to be wished,

[x] An censes, cum in illis de Repub. libris persuadere videatur Africanus, omnium Rerum publ. nostram veterem illam fuisse optimam.— De Leg. 2. x. vid. ib. 1. 6. 9.

[y] De Pompeio assentior tibi, vel tu potius mihi, nam, ut icis, jampridem istum cano Cæarem. — Ad Quint. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 699. than hoped for [z]. But Cicero sent another copy  
 Cic. 53. of the same Letter, which came safe to his hands,  
 Coss. written, as he says, *in the familiar style, yet without departing from his dignity.* Cæsar answered him with all imaginable kindness, and the offer of every thing, in which his power could serve him, telling him, *how agreeable his Brother's company was to him, by the revival of their old affection; and since he was now removed to such a distance from him, he would take care, that in their mutual want of each other, he should have cause at least to rejoice, that his Brother was with him, rather than any one else.* He thanks him also for sending the Lawyer Trebatius to him, and says upon it jocosely, *that there was not a man before in his army, who knew how to draw a recognizance.*—Cicero, in his account of this Letter to his Brother, says; “ it is kind in you, and like a Brother, “ to press me to this friendship, though I am “ running that way apace myself, and shall do, “ what often happens to travellers, who rising “ later than they intended, yet by quickening “ their speed, come sooner to their journey’s “ end, than if they had set out earlier; so I, “ who have over-slept myself in my observance “ of this man, though you were frequently rousing me, will correct my past laziness by mending my pace for the future.”—But as to his

[z] Ille scriptit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum Epistolarum, in quo fuerat & mea & Balbi, totum sibi aqua mandidum esse: ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistolam. Sed ex Balbi epistola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quæ rescrip-

fit his verbis. De Cicerone video te quiddam scripsisse, quod ego non intellexi; quantum autem conjectura conseguebar, id erat hujusmodi, ut magis optandum, quam sperandum putarem. Ad Quint. 2. 12.

seeking

seeking any advantage or personal benefit from this alliance, believe me, says he, you who know me; I have from him already what I most value, the assurance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things that he offers me — [a]. In another letter he says; I lay no great stress on his promises, want no farther honors, nor desire any new glory, and wish nothing more, but the continuance of his esteem, yet live still in such a course of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting, what I do not really desire [b].

BUT though he made no use of Cæsar's generosity for himself, yet he used it freely for his friends: for besides his Brother, who was Cæsar's Lieutenant, and Trebatius, who was his Lawyer; he procured an eminent post for Orfius, and a Regiment for Curtius; yet Cæsar was chiding him all the while for his reservedness in

[a] Cum Cæsaris Literis, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate—Quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, & recordatio veteris amoris; deinde se effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui, te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse heterar.—Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalfe & humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit: negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quempiam fuisse, qui vadimonium concipere posset.—

Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, sed inhercule currentem nunc

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quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam, &c.

Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in ipsis rebus ego plurimi aestimo, jam habeo: —deinde Cæsaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a se expectare vult, antepono.—

Ad Quint. 2. 15.

[b] Promissis iis, quae ostendit, non valde pendo: nec honores fitio, nec desidero gloriam: magisque ejus voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam promissorum exitum expecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione & labore, tanquam id, quod non postulo, expectem. Ib. 3. 5.

H

asking:

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coll.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

- A. Urb. 693. *asking [t].* His recommedatory Letter of Trebatius, will shew both what a share he possessed at this time of Cæsar's confidence, and with what an affectionate zeal he used to recommend his friends.
- L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER.

Cicero to Cæsar Emperor.

" See, how I have persuaded myself to consider you as a second self; not onely in what affects my own interest, but in what concerns my friends: I had resolved, whithersoever I went abroad, to carry C. Trebatius along with me; that I might bring him home, adorned with the fruits of my care and kindness: but since Pompey's stay in *Rome* has been longer, than I expected, and my own irresolution, to which you are no stranger, will either wholly hinder, or at least, retard my going abroad at all; see, what I have taken upon my self: I began presently to resolve, that Trebatius should expect the same things from you, which he had been hoping for from me: nor did I assure him with less frankness of your good will, than I used to do of my own: but a wonderfull incident fell out, both as a testimony of my opinion, and a pledge of your humanity; for while I was talking of this very Trebatius at my house, with our friend Balbus, your Letter was delivered to me; in the end of which you said; *as to M. Orfius, whom you recommended to me, I will make him even King of Gaul, or Lieutenant to Lepta; send*

[c] M. Curtio Tribunatum ab eo petivi.—Ib. 2. 15. Ep. fam. 7. 5.

De Tribunatu—mihi ipse

Cæsar nominatum Curtio paratum esse rescriptit, meamque in rogando verecundiam objurgavit. Ad Quin. 3. 1.

" me

" me another therefore, if you please, whom I may A. Urb. 699.  
 " prefer. We lifted up our hands both I and Cic. 53.  
 " Balbus; the occasion was so pat, that it seem- Coss.  
 " ed not to be accidental, but divine. I send L. DOMITIUS  
 " you therefore Trebatius; and send him so, AHENO-  
 " as at first indeed I designed, of my own accord, BARBUS,  
 " but now also by your invitation: embrace him, A. CLAUDIO-  
 " my dear Cæsar, with all your usual courtesy; PULCHRA.  
 " and whatever you could be induced to do for  
 " my friends, out of your regard to me, confer  
 " it all singly upon him. I will be answerable  
 " for the man; not in my former stile, which  
 " you justly rallied, when I wrote to you about  
 " Milo, but in the true Roman phrase, which  
 " men of sense use; that there is not an *boneſtor*,  
 " *worſtior*, *modeſter* was living: I muſt add,  
 " what makes the principal part of his character,  
 " that he has a ſingular memory and perfect  
 " knowledge of the civil Law. I ask for him,  
 " neither a Regiment nor Government, nor any  
 " certain piece of preferment; I ask your bene-  
 " volence and generosity; yet am not againſt  
 " the adorning him, whenever you ſhall think  
 " proper, with thoſe trappings alſo of glory: in  
 " ſhort, I deliver the whole man to you, from  
 " my hand, as we ſay, into yours, illuſtrious  
 " for victory and faith. But I am more impor-  
 " tunate than I need to be to you; yet I know  
 " you will excuse it. Take care of your health  
 " and continue to love me, as you now do [d]."

TREBATIUS was of a lazy, indolent, ſtu-  
 dious temper; a lover of books and good com-  
 pany; eagerly fond of the pleasures of *Rome*;  
 and wholly out of his element in a Camp: and  
 because Cæſar, through the infinite hurry of his

A. Urb. 699. affairs, could not presently admit him to his familiarity, and prefer him so soon as he expected; Cic. 53. Coss. he was tired of the drudgery of attending him, L. DOMITIUS AHENO- BARBUS, and impatient to be at home again. Under these circumstances, there is a series of Letters to him A. CLAUDIUS PULEHER. from Cicero, written not onely with the disinterested affection of a friend, but the sollicitude even of a parent, employing all the arts of insinuation, as well of the grave, as of the facetious kind, to hinder him from ruining his hopes and fortunes by his own imprudence. "He laughs at " his childish hankering after the City ; bids him " reflect on the end, for which he went abroad, " and pursue it with constancy ; observes from " *the Medea of Euripides*, that many had served " themselves and the public well, at a distance " from their Country ; whilst others, by spend- " ing their lives at home, had lived and died " ingloriously ; of which number, *says he*, you " would have been one, if we had not thrust you " out ; and since I am now acting *Medea*, take " this other lesson from me, *that he, who is not* " *wise for himself, is wise to no purpose [e].*" He rallies his impatience or rather " imprudence ; " as if he had carried a bond, not a Letter to " Cæsar, and thought, that he had nothing to " do, but to take his money and return home ;

[e] Tu modo ineptias istas & desideria urbis & urbanitatis depone : & quo confilio profectus es, id affiduitate & virtute consequere.—

Nam multi suam rem bene gessere & poplicam, patria procul.

Multi, quei domi æstatem a-

gerent, propterea sunt improbatæ.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisse, nisi te extrussemus— & quando Medeam agere coepi, illud seaper memento, quæ ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit, nequicquam sapit. Ep. Fam. 7. 6.

" not

“ not recollecting, that even those, who follow- A. Urb. 699.  
 “ ed King Ptolemy with bonds to *Alexandria*, Cic. 53.  
 “ had not yet brought back a penny of mo- Coll.  
 “ ney [f]. You write me word, *says he*, that L. DOMITIUS  
 “ Cæsar now consults you ; I had rather hear, AHENO-  
 “ that he consults your interest [g]. Let me BARSUS,  
 “ die, if I do not believe, such is your vanity, A. CLAUDIO-  
 “ that you had rather be consulted, than enrich- PULCHER.  
 “ ed by him [b].” By these railleries and per-  
 “ continual admonitions he made Trebatius ashamed  
 of his softness, and content to stay with Cæsar,  
 by whose favor and generosity he was cured at last  
 of all his uneasiness; and having here laid the  
 foundation of his fortunes, flourished afterwards  
 in the court of Augustus, with the character of  
 the most learned Lawyer of that age [i].

CÆSAR was now upon his second expedition into *Britain*; which raised much talk and expectation at *Rome*, and gave Cicero *no small concern* for the safety of his Brother, who, as one of *Cæsar's Lieutenants*, was to bear a considerable part in it [k]. But the accounts which he received from the place, soon eased him of his apprehensions, by informing him, *that there was nothing either to fear, or to hope from the attempt*;

[f] Subimprudens videbare; tanquam enim syngrapham ad Imperatorem, non epistolam attulisses, sic, pecunia ablata, domum redire properabas. Nec tibi in mentem veniebat, eos ipsos, qui cum syngraphis venissent *Alexandriam*, nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. Ib. 17.

[g] Consuli quidem te a Cæsare scribis; sed ego tibi ab illo consuli vellem. —

Ib. xi.

[b] Moriar, ni, quæ tua gloria est, puto te malle a Cæsare consuli, quam inaurari. Ib. 13.

[i] — Nisi quid tu, docte Trebatii

Dissentis.—Hor. Sat. 2.1.79.

[k] Ex Quinti fratri literis suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia : suspenso animo expecto quid agat — Ad Att. 4. 15.

- A. Urb.** 699. *no danger from the people, no spoils from the Country* [l]. In a Letter to Atticus, we are in suspic.<sup>Cic. 53.</sup> *Col.* says he, *about the British war: it is certain, that the access of the Island is strongly fortified; and it is known also already, that there is not a grain of silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves; of whom you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in music or Letters* [m]. In another to Trebatius; *I bear, that there is not either any gold or silver in the Island: if so, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots, and fly back to us* [n].

FROM their railleries of this kind on the barbarity and misery of our Island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of Kingdoms: how *Rome*, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of Tyrants, *Superstition and religious Imposture*: while this remote Country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the same course, which *Rome* itself had run before it;

[l] O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Timebam oceanum, timebam litus Insulae. Reliqua non e quidem contemno. — Ad Quint. 1. 16.

De Britanicis rebus cognovi ex tuis literis, nihil esse nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus.—Ib. 3. 1.

[m] Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulae munitos esse mirificis molibus. Etiam il-

lud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse illum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Ad Att. 4. 16.

[n] In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, eisdem aliquod suadeo capias, & ad nos quam primum recursas. Ep. Fam. 7. 7.

from virtuous industry to wealth ; from wealth to luxury ; from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals ; till by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else, that is valuable, sinks gradually again into it's original barbarism.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Q. off.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIVI  
PULCHER,

CICERO taking it for granted, that Trebatius followed Caesar into Britain, begins to joke with him upon *the wonderfull figure, that a British Lawyer would make at Rome* ; and, as it was his profession to guard other people's safety, bids him beware that he himself was not caught by the British charioteers [o]. But Trebatius, it seems, knew how to take care of himself without Cicero's advice ; and when Caesar passed over to Britain, chose to stay behind in Gaul : this gave a fresh handle for raillery ; and Cicero congratulates him, " upon being arrived at last into a Country, " where he was thought to know something ; " that if he had gone over also to Britain, there " would not have been a man in all that great " Island, wiser than himself. —" He observes, " that he was much more cautious in military, " than in civil contests ; and wonders, that being such a lover of swimming, he could not be persuaded to swim in the Ocean ; and when he could not be kept away from every shew of Gladiators at Rome, had not the curiosity to see the British Charioteers : he rejoices however, after all, that he did not go ; since they

[o] Mira enim persona in- dicisti, in Britannia ne ab duci potest Britannici Juris effedariis decipiariis caveto. coaducti. Ep. Fam. 7. xi. lb. 6.

Tu, qui ceteris cavere di-

A. Urb. 699. "should not now be troubled with the impertinence of his British stories [p]."  
 Cic. 53. "nence of his British stories [p]."  
 Coss.  
 L. DOMITIUS QUINTUS CICERO, who had a genius for  
 AHENO- poetry, was projecting the plan of a poem, upon  
 BARBUS, their British expedition, and begged his Brother's  
 A. CLAUDIOUS assistance in it: Cicero approved the design, and  
 FULCHER. observed upon it, that the nature and situation of  
 places so strange, the manners of the people, their  
 battels with them, and the General himself Cæsar,  
 were excellent subjects for poetry; but as to his assistance, it was sending owls to Athens: that Quintus, who had finished four Tragedies in sixteen days, could not want either help or fame in that way, after his Electra and the Troades [q]. In other letters, he

[p] Est, quod gaudeas, te  
 in ita loca venisse, ubi ali-  
 quid sapere viderere: quod  
 si in Britanniam quoque pro-  
 fectus essem, profecto nemo in  
 illa tanta insula te peritior  
 fuisset—Sed tu in re militari  
 multo es cautior quam in ad-  
 vocationibus: qui neque in  
 oceano natare voluisti, homo  
 studiosissimus natandi, neque  
 spectare essedarios, quem ante-  
 nae ne Audabatam quidem  
 defraudare poteramus. Ib. x.

In Britanniam te profec-  
 tum non esse gadeo, quod &  
 labore caruisti, & ego te de  
 illis rebus non audiam. Ib.  
 17.

The little hint here given,  
 of Trebatius's *loss of swim-  
 ming*, adds a new light and  
 beauty to that passage of Hor-  
 ace, where the Poet intro-  
 duces him, advising, *to swim  
 thrice cross the Tiber*, to cure

the want of sleep; the ad-  
 vice, it seems, being pecu-  
 liarly agreeable to his own  
 practice and character.

ter uult  
 transnante Tiberim, somno qui-  
 bus est opus alto.

Sat. 2. 1. v. 8.

[q] Te vero ἵπόθεον scri-  
 bendi egregiam habere vi-  
 deo. Quos tu situs, quas na-  
 turas rerum & locorum, quos  
 mores, quas gentes, quas pug-  
 nas, quem vero ipsum Imperatorem habes? Ego te li-  
 benter, ut rogas, quibus re-  
 bus vis, adjuvabo, & tibi ver-  
 sus, quos rogas, γλαῦκα τις  
 Αθῆναι mittam. Ad Quint.  
 2. 16.

Quatuor Tragedias, cum  
 xvi diebus absolvisse sribas,  
 tu quidquam ab alio mutua-  
 ris? & κλέος queris, cum  
 Electram

he answers more seriously; *that it was impossible to conceive, how much be wanted leisure for versifying: that to write verses required an ease and clearfullness of mind, which the times had taken from him; and that his poetical flame was quite extinguished by the sad prospect of things before them [r].*

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coll.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

He had sent Cæsar his Greek Poem in three books, on the history of his Consulship; and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, *that the beginning of it was as good as any thing, which he had ever seen in that language, but that the following lines, to a certain place, were not equal in accuracy and spirit.* Cicero desires therefore to know of his Brother, *what Cæsar really thought of the whole; whether the matter or the style displeased him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; since whether Cæsar liked it or not, he should not, he says, be a jot the less pleased with himself [s].* He began however

*Electram & Troadem scripsis?* — Ib. 3. 6.

N. B. These four Tragedies, said to be written in sixteen days, cannot be supposed to have been original productions, but translations from some of the Greek Poets, of which Quintus was a great Master; finished by him in haste for the entertainment of the Camp: for the word *Troadem* in the text, the name of one of them, should most probably be *Troades*, the title of one of Euripides's Plays; as the *Electra* also was.

[r] *Quod me de faciendis versibus rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quantum egeam tempore — Facerem ta-*

*men ut possem, sed — opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt — Ib. 3. 5.*

*De verbis — deest mihi opera, quae non modo tempus, sed etiam animum ab omni cura vacuum defiderat: sed abest etiam *interviasopus*, — &c. Ib. 4.*

[s] *Sed heus tu, celari videor a te, quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris verbis Cæsar? Nam primum librum se legisse scriptit ad me ante: & prima sic, ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legis se; reliqua ad quendam locum *εαθυμάτιστα*. Hoc enim uititur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut*

*χαρακτήρ*

- A. Urb. 699. ever another Poem, at his Brother's earnest request, to be addressed to Cæsar, but after some progress was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it [t]: yet Quintus still urging, and signifying, that he had acquainted Cæsar with the design, he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an Epic Poem in honor of Cæsar; which he promises to send as soon as he could find a proper conveyance, that it might not be lost, as Quintus's Tragedy of Erigone was in coming from Gaul; the only thing, says he, which had not found a safe passage, since Cæsar governed that Province [u].

WHILE Cicero was expressing no small dissatisfaction at the measures, which his present situation obliged him to pursue, Cæsar was doing every thing in his power, to make him easy: he treated his Brother with as much kindness, as if Cicero himself had been his General; gave him the choice of his winter quarters, and the Legion, which he best liked [x]: and Clodius happening to write to him from Rome, he shewed the Letter to Quintus, and declared that he would not answer it;

*quæsiq; non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo.* — Ib. 2. 16.

[r] *Poema ad Cæsarem, quod composuoram, incidi.* — Ib. 3. 1. §. 4.

[u] *Quod me institutum ad illum Poema jubes perficere; et si distans tum opera, tum animo sum multo magis, quoniam ex epistola, quam ad te misericor, cognovit Cæsar me aliquid esse exorsum; revertar ad institutum* — Ib. 8.

*Quod me hortaris, ut ab-*

*solvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, non ad Cæsarem. Sed quanto locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigone tue; cui soli, Cæsare Imperatore, iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit.*

Ib. 9. [x] *Quantum meum — Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat, honore, dignitate, gratia? Non locus ac si ego essem Imperator. Hibernam Legionem eligandi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit.* — Ad Att. 4. 18..

*through*

though Quintus civilly pressed him not to put such an A. Urb. 699.  
 affront upon Clodius for their sakes [y] : In the Cic. 53.  
 midst of all his hurry in Britain, he sent frequent Coll.  
 accounts to Cicero in his own hand of his pro- L. DOMITIUS  
 gress and success, and at the instant of quitting AHENO-  
 the Island, wrote to him from the very shore, of BARBUS,  
 the embarkment of the troops, and his having taken A. CLAUDIO-  
 hostages and imposed a Tribute: and lest he should PULCHER.  
 be surprized at having no Letters as the same time  
 from his Brother, he acquaints him, that Quintus  
 was then at a distance from him, and could not take  
 the benefit of that express: Cicero received all these  
 Letters at Rome, in less than a month after date,  
 and takes notice in one of them, that it arrived on  
 the twentieth day; a dispatch equal to that of our  
 present Couriers by the post [z].

As to the news of the City this summer, Ci-  
 cero tells his Brother, "that there were some  
 " hopes of an election of Magistrates, but those  
 " uncertain; some suspicion of a Dictator, yet  
 " that not more certain; a great calm in the  
 " Forum; but of a City, seemed to be quieted  
 " rather by the effects of age, than of concord:

[y] In qua primum est de Clodii ad Cesarem literis, in quo Cesaris confilium prebo, quod tibi amantissime potenti veniam non dedit, ut illum ad illam Furiam verbum rescriberet—Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 4.

[z] Ab Quinto fratre & a Cesare accepi A. D. IX. Kal. Nov. literas, confecta Britannia, ob fidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a litoribus Britannie, proximo A. D. VI. Kal. Octob. exercitum

Britannia reportabant. Ad Att. 4. 17.

Ex Britannia Cesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit literas: quas ego accepi A. D. IIII. Kal. Octob. fatis commendas de Britannicis rebus: quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullus acceperim, scribit se fine te faisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 7.

Cum hanc jam Epistolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt ad D. XI. Kal. Sept. vicefimo die. Ib. 3. 1. §. 5.

" that

- A. Urb. 699. " that his own conduct, as well in public, as in  
 Cic. 53. " private, was just what Quintus had advised,  
 Coll. " softer than the tip of his ear; and his votes  
 L. DOMITIUS " in the Senate such, as pleased others, rather  
 AHENO-  
 BARBUS,  
 A. CLAUDIUS  
 PULCHER. " Such ills does wretched war and discord breed,  
 " that bribery was never carried so high, as at  
 " this time, by the Consular candidates, Mem-  
 " mius, Domitius, Scaurus, Messala; that they  
 " were all alike; no eminence in any; for mo-  
 " ney levelled the dignity of them all: that  
 " above eighty thousand pounds was promised  
 " to the first Tribe; and money grown so scarce,  
 " by this profusion of it, that interest was risen  
 " from four, to eight per Cent [a]."

MEMMIUS and Cn. Domitius, who joined their interests, made a strange sort of contract with the Consuls, which was drawn up in writing, and attested in proper form by many of their friends on both sides; by which, " the Consuls obliged themselves, to serve them with all their power in the ensuing election; and they on their part undertook when elected, to procure for the Consuls what Provinces

[a] Res Romanas sic se  
 habebant. Erat nonnulla spes  
 comitiorum, sed incerta: e-  
 rat aliqua suspicio Dictatu-  
 rae, ne ea quidem certa: sum-  
 mum otium forense; sed  
 senescents magis civitatis,  
 quam adquiescentis. Senten-  
 tia autem nostra in Senatu  
 ejusmodi, magis ut alii nobis  
 assentiantur, quam nosmet  
 ipsi.—

Τοιανθ' ὁ τλέμων πόλεμῳ ιξ-  
 ογαζίσαι. Eurip. Iketid.

Ambitus redit immanis, num-  
 quam par fuit. Ad Quint.  
 2. 15.

Sequere me nunc in Cam-  
 pum. Ardet ambitus: οὐ-  
 μα δὲ τοις ιρέως; scenus ex tri-  
 ente Idib. Quint. factum erat  
 bessibus — ιξόχει in nullo est,  
 pecunia omnium dignitatem  
 exæquat — Ad Att. 4. 15.

" they

" they desired ; and gave a bond of above A. Urb. 699.  
 " 3000*l.* to provide three Augurs, who should Cic. 53.  
 " testify, that they were present at making Cott.  
 " a law, for granting them those Provinces,  
 " when no such law had ever been made ; and  
 " two Consular Senators, who should affirm, L. DOMITIUS  
 " that they were present likewise at passing a AHENO-  
 " decree of the Senate, for furnishing the same RABBUS,  
 " provinces with arms and money, when the A. CLAUDIO  
 " Senate had never been consulted about it [b]."  
 Memmius, *who was strongly supported by Cæsar* [c], finding some reason to dislike his bargain, resolved to break it, and, by Pompey's advice, *gave an account of it to the Senate*. Pompey was pleased with the opportunity of mortifying the Consul Domitius ; and willing likewise to take some revenge on Appius, who, though his near relation, did not enter so fully as he expected into his measures [d] : but Cæsar was much out of humor at this step [e] ; as it was likely to raise great scandal in the City, and strengthen the interest of those, who were endeavouring to restrain that infamous corruption, which was the

[b] Consules flagrant infamia, quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in Senatu recitavit, quam ipse & suus competitor Domitius cum Consulibus fecissent, uti ambo H. S. quadragena Consulibus darent, si essent ipsi Consules facti, nisi tres Augures dedissent, qui se adfuisse dicerent, cum lex curiata ferretur, quæ lata non esset ; & duo Consulares, qui se dicerebant in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo affuisse, cum omnino ne

Senatus quidem fuisse. Hæc pæctio non verbis sed nominibus & perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prælata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pompeio — Ad Att. 4. 18.

[c] Memmum Cæsaris omnes opes confirmant — Ib. 15, 17.

[d] Dio. I. 39. p. 118.

[e] Ut qui jam intelligamus enunciationem illam Memmii valde Cæsari displicere — Ad Att. 4. 16.

main

A. Urb. 699. main instrument of advancing his power. Appius never changed countenance, nor lost any credit  
 Cic. 55. by the discovery; but his colleague Domitius, who  
 Coll. affected the character of a Patriot, was extremely  
**L. DOMITIUS**  
**AMER-**  
**BARBUS,**  
**A. CLAUDIO-**  
**PULONII.** discomposed; and Memmius, now grown desperate, resolved to promote the general disorder and the creation of a Dictator [f].

QUINTUS sent his Brother word from Gaul, that it was reported there, that he was present at this contract: but Cicero assures him that it was false, and that the bargain was of such a nature, as Memmius had opened it to the Senate, that no honest men could have been present at it [g]. The Senate was highly incensed; and to check the insolence of the parties concerned, passed a decree, that their conduct should be inquired into by what they called a private, or silent judgement; where the Sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet so, as to make void the election of those, who should be found guilty: this they resolved to execute with rigor, and made an allotment of Judges for that purpose: but some of the Tribuns were prevailed with to interpose their negative, on pretence of hindering all inquisitions, not specially authorized by the people [h].

THIS

[f] Hic Appius erat idem; nihil sine jactura. Corruerat alter, & plane, inquam, jacebat. Memmius autem — plane refrixerat, & eo magis nunc cogitare dictaturam, tum favere justitio & omnium rerum licentia. — Ib. 18.

[g] Quod scribis te audiisse, in Candidatorum Consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Ejus-

modi enim partiones in ista coitione factae sunt, quas postea Memmius patet fecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit — Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 5.

[h] At Senatus decrevit ut tacitum judicium ante comitia fieret — Magnus timor Candidatorum. Sed quidam Judices — Tribunos pl. appellaverunt, ne injusiu populi judicarent. Res cedit, comitia dilata ex S. C. dum lex de taci-  
 to

THIS detestable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleasure, in which so many of the first rank were concerned, either as Principals or witnesses, is alledged by an ingenious French writer, as a flagrant instance of that *Liberthinism*, which hastened the destruction of Rome [i]. So far are private vices from being public benefits, that this great Republic, of all others the most free and flourishing, owed the loss it's Liberty to nothing else but a general defection of it's Citizens, from the probity and discipline of their ancestors. Cicero often foretells their approaching ruin from this very cause ; and when he bewails the wretchedness of the times, usually joins the wickedness of their morals, as the genuin source of it [k].

A. Urb. 609.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

BUT left these corrupt Candidates should escape without punishment, they were all publicly impeached by different Prosecutors, and the City was now in a great ferment about them ; since, as Cicero says, either the men or the laws must necessarily perish : yet they will all, says he, be acquitted ; for trials are now managed so corruptly, that no man will ever be condemned for the future, unless for murder [l]. But Q. Scrovoli, one of

racio judicio feretur. Venit veterem dignitatem & libertatem vindicaturus. — Ep. Fam. 2. 5.

[i] Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur &c. des Romains. C. X.

[k] His presertim moxibus aquae temperibus, quibus ita praelapsa Resp. est, ut omnium apibus refrescanda, ac coeranda sit. De Divin. 2. 2.

Qui fit Romp. afflictam & oppressam misericoribus temperibus, ac perditis amoribus, in

[l] De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, qui consulatum petant — Magno res in motu est. Propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus offenditur — Ad Quin. 3. 2.

Sed omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur, nisi qui hominera occidit. Ad Att. 4. 16.

the

**A. Urb. 699.** the Tribuns, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by resolving to hinder any election of Consuls during his Magistracy ; in which he persevered, and by his authority *dissolved all the assemblies, convened for that purpose [m].* The *Tribunician Candidates* however were remarkably modest this year : for they made an agreement among themselves, which they all confirmed by an oath, “ that in prosecuting their several interests, they would submit their conduct to the judgment of Cato, and deposit four thousand pounds apiece in his hands, to be forfeited by those, whom he should condemn of any irregular practice. If the election proves free, says Cicero, as it is thought it will, Cato alone can do more, than all the Laws and all the Judges [n].”

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials : Suffenas and C. Cato, who had been Tribuns two years before, were tried in the beginning of July, for violence and breach of peace in their Magistracy, and both acquitted : but Procilius, one of their Collegues, “ was condemned for killing a Citizen in his own house : whence we are to collect, says Cicero, that our Areopagites value neither bribery, nor elections, nor interregnums, nor attempts against the State, nor the whole Republic a rush : we

[m] Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnunciationibus, magna voluntate bonorum—Ad Quin. 3. 3.

Obnunciationibus per Scavolam interpolitis, singulis diebus—Ad Att. 4. 16.

[n] Tribunitii Candidati jurarunt se arbitrio Catonis

petituros : apud eum H. S. quingenia deposuerunt ; ut qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet, & competitoribus tribueretur — Si comitia, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint ; plus unus Cato potuerit, quam omnes quidem judices. Ib. 15. Ad Quin. 2. 15.

“ must

" must not murther a man indeed in his own house, though that perhaps might be done moderately, since twenty-two acquitted Proculius, when twenty-eight condemned him [o]."  
 Clodius was the accuser in these impeachments : which made Cato, as soon as he was acquitted, seek a retencion with Cicero and Milo [p]. It was not Cicero's busines to reject the friendship of an active and popular Senator ; and Milo had occasion for his service in his approaching suit for the Consulship. But though Cicero had no concern in these trials, he was continually employed in others, through the rest of the summer : " I was never, says he, more busy in trials than now ; in the worst season of the year, and the greatest heats, that we have ever known ; there scarce passes a day in which I do not defend some [q]." Besides his Clients in the City, he had several towns and colonies under his patronage, which sometimes wanted his help abroad, as the Corporation of Reate did now, to plead for them before the Consul Appius, and ten Commissioners, in a controversy with their neighbours of Interamna, about draining the lake Velinus into the River Nar, to the damage of their

[o] III. Non. Quint. Suf-  
fenas & Cato absoluti : Pro-  
culius condemnatus. Ex quo  
intellectum est, τρισαγιουσα-  
γίας, ambitum, comitia, in-  
terregnū, mājestatē, to-  
tam denique Rēsp. flocci  
non facere. Debemus patrem  
familias domi suæ occidere  
nolle, neque tamen id ipsum  
abunde. Nam absolverunt  
22, condemnarunt 28 —  
Ad Att. 4. 15.

[p] Is tamen & mecum &  
cum Milone in gratiam rediit.  
Ib. 16.

[q] Sic enim habeto nun-  
quam me a causis & judiciis  
districtiorem fuisse, atque id  
anni tempore gravissimo, &  
caloribus maximis. Ad Quint.  
2. 16.

Diem scito esse nullum,  
quo non dico pro reo. Ib.  
3. 3.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER,

- A. Urb. 699. grounds. He returned from this cause in the  
 Cic. 53. midst of the Apollinarian shews ; and to relieve  
 Coss. himself from the fatigue of his journey went di-  
 rectly to the Theater, where he was received by an  
 L. DOMITIUS universal clap : in the account of which to Atti-  
 AHENO-  
 BARBUS,  
 A. CLAUDIO-  
 PULCHER. cas, he adds, but this you are not to take notice of, and I am a fool indeed myself for mentioning it: [r].

HE now also defended Messius, one of Cæ-  
 sar's Lieutenants, who came from Gaul on purpose  
 to take his trial : then Drusus, accused of preva-  
 ricating or betraying a cause, which he had under-  
 taken to defend ; of which he was acquitted by a  
 majority only of four voices : After that Vatinus,  
 the last year's Praetor, and Æmilius Scaurus, one  
 of the Consular Candidates, accused of plundering  
 the Province of Sardinia [s] ; and about the same  
 time likewise his old friend, Cn. Plancius ; who  
 had entertained him so generously in his exil, and  
 being now chosen Ædile, was accused by a dis-  
 appointed Competitor, M. Laterensis, of bribery  
 and corruption. All these were acquitted, but  
 the Orations for them are lost, except that for  
 Plancius ; which remains a perpetual monument  
 of Cicero's gratitude : for Plancius having ob-  
 tained the Tribune from the people, as the re-

[r] Reatini me ad sua  
 τιμην duxerunt, ut agerem  
 causam contra Interamnates  
 — Redii Romam — Veni in  
 spectaculum ; primum mag-  
 no & æquabili plausu, (sed  
 hoc ne curaris ; ego ineptus  
 qui scripserim) — Ad Att.

4. 15.

[s] Messius defendebatur a  
 nobis, e legatione revocatus  
 — Deinde me expedio ad  
 Drusum, inde ad Scaurum.  
 — Ibid.

Drusus erat de prævarica-  
 tione—absolutus, in summa  
 quatuor sententiis — Eodem  
 die post meridiem Vatinium  
 aderam defensurus ; ea res  
 facilis — Scauri judicium  
 statim exercebitur, cui nos  
 non deerimus. Ad Quin.  
 2. 16.

Scaurum beneficio defen-  
 sionis valde obligavi. — Ib.  
 3. 1. §. 5.

ward

ward of his fidelity to Cicero, did not behave himself in that post, with the same affection to him as before, but seems studiously to have slighted him ; while several of his Colleagues, and especially Racilius, were exerting all their power in the defence of his person and dignity [t]. Yet Cicero freely undertook his cause, and as if no coldness had intervened, displayed the merit of his services in the most pathetic and affecting manner ; and rescued him from the hands of a powerfull accuser, and his own particular friend.

" Drusus's trial was held in the morning ; from which, after going home to write a few Letters, he was obliged to return to Vatinius's in the afternoon :" which gives us a specimen of the hurry in which he generally lived, and of the little time which he had to spend upon his private affairs, or his studies ; and though he was now carrying on several great works of the learned kind, " yet he had no other leisure, but tells us, for meditating and composing, but when he was taking a few turns in his gardens, for the exercise of his body, and refreshment of his voice [u]. " Vatinius had been one of his fiercest enemies ; was in a perpetual opposition to him in politics ; and, like Bestia mentioned above, a seditious, profligate, abandoned Libertine : so that the defence of him gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero : but his engagements with Pompey, and especially his new friendship with Cæsar, made it necessary to embrace all Cæsar's friends ; among

[t] Negas Tribunatum Plancii quicquam attulisse adjumenti dignitati mea. Atque hoc loco, quod verissime facere potes. L. Racilius—divina in me merita comme-

moras, &c. Pro Plancio 32.

[u] Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito in ambulationis fere tempus consero. Ad Quint. 3. 36

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

A. Urb. 699. whom Vatinius was most warmly recommended  
Cic. 53. to him.

Coff.

L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER.

GABINIUS, being recalled as has been said, from his government, returned to *Rome* about the end of September : he bragged every where on his journey, that he was going *to the demand of a triumph* ; and to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates ; till perceiving how odious he was to all within, *he stole privately into the City by night, to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace* [x]. There were three different impeachments provided against him : the first, *for treasonable practices against the state* ; the second, *for the plunder of his province* ; the third, *for bribery and corruption* ; and so many persons offered themselves to be prosecutors, *that there was a contest among them before the Praetor, how to adjust their several claims* [y]. The first indictment fell to L. Lentulus, who accused him the day after he entered the City, “ that, “ in defiance of religion and the decree of the “ Senate, he had restored the King of *Ægypt* “ with an army, leaving his own Province naked, “ and open to the incursion of enemies, ‘who “ had made great devastations in it.’” Cicero, who had received from Gabinius all the provocation, which one man could receive from another, had the pleasure to see his insolent adver-

[x] Ad urbem accessit A.D. xii. Kal. Oct. nihil turpius, nec desertius. Ad Qu. Fr.

3. i. §. 5.

Cum Gabinius, quacunque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset, subitoque bonus Imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invaserat— Ib. 2.

[y] Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant: &c. Ib. 1. §. 5.

Cum haec scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura, inter Memmium, & Ti. Neronom, & C. & L. Antonios. Ib. 2.

fary at his feet ; and was prepared to give him such a reception, as he deserved : but Gabinius durst not venture to shew his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to custom, *of the state of his Province and the troops, which he had left in it* : as soon as he had told his story, he was going to retire, but the Consuls detained him, to answer to a complaint brought against him *by the Publicans, or Farmers of the revenues*, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate in which Gabinius was so urged and teized on all fides, but especially by Cicero, *that trembling with passion, and unable to contain himself, he called Cicero, a banished man* : upon which, says Cicero, in a Letter to his Brother, “ nothing ever happened more honorable to me : the whole Senate left their seats to a man, and with a general clamor ran up to his very face ; while the Publicans also were equally fierce and clamorous against him, and the whole company behaved just as you yourself would have done [z].”

CICERO had been deliberating for some time, whether he should not accuse Gabinius himself ; but out of regard to Pompey, was content to appear

[z] Interim ipso decimo die, quo ipsum oportebat hostium numerum & militum renunciare, in re hæsit, summa in frequentia : cum vellet exire, a Consulibus retentus est ; introducti publicani. Homo undique actus, ensa a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, & me trementi

voce exulem appellavit. Hic, O Dii, nihil unquam honorificentius nobis accidit. Surrexit Senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic ut ad corpus ejus accederet. Pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid queris ? Omnes, tanquam fitu eses, ita fuerunt.—lb.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER.

A. Urb. 699. only as a witness against him [a] ; and when  
 Cic. 53. the trial was over, gives the following account  
 Coss. of it to his Brother.

L. DOMITIUS ARENO-  
 BARBUS, " GABINIUS is acquitted : nothing was ever  
 A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. " so stupid, as his accuser Lentulus ; nothing so  
 " sordid as the bench : yet if Pompey had not  
 " taken incredible pains, and the rumor of a  
 " Dictatorship had not infused some apprehen-  
 " sions, he could not have held up his head  
 " even against Lentulus : since with such an ac-  
 " cuser, and such Judges ; of the seventy-two,  
 " who sat upon him, thirty-two condemned  
 " him. The sentence is so infamous, that he  
 " seems likely to fall in the other trials ; espe-  
 " cially that of plunder : but there's no Repub-  
 " lic, no Senate, no Justice, no dignity in any  
 " of us : what can I say more of the Judges ?  
 " There were but two of them of Praetorian  
 " rank, Domitius Calvinus, who acquitted him  
 " so forwardly, that all the world might see it ;  
 " and Cato, who, as soon as the votes were de-  
 " clared, ran officiously from the Bench, to car-  
 " ry the first news to Pompey. Some say, and  
 " particularly Sallust, that I ought to have ac-  
 " cused him : but should I risk my credit with  
 " such Judges ? What a figure should I have  
 " made, if he had escaped from me ? But there  
 " were other things, which influenced me :  
 " Pompey would have considered it as a strug-  
 " gle, not about Gabinius's safety, but his own  
 " dignity : it must have made a breach between  
 " us : we should have been matched like a pair  
 " of Gladiators ; as Pæcianus, with Æferninus

[a] Ego tamen me teneo nolo cum Pompeio pugnare ;  
 ab accusando vix mehercule. fatis est, quod instat de Mi-  
 Sed tamen teneo, vel quod Jones. — Ib. 3. 2.

" the

" the Sannite ; he would probably have bitt off A. Urb. 699.  
 " one of my ears, or been reconciled at least Cic. 53.  
 " with Clodius — for after all the pains, which Coff.  
 " I had taken to serve him ; when I owed no-  
 " thing to him, he every thing to me ; yet he L. DOMITIUS  
 " would not bear my differing from him in pub- AHENO-  
 lic affairs, to say no worse of it ; and when BARBUS,  
 " he was less powerfull than he is at present, A. CLAUDIO-  
 shewed what power he had against me, in my PULCHER.  
 florishing condition ; why should I now,  
 when I have lost even all desire of power,  
 when the Republic certainly has none ; when  
 he alone has all ; chuse him of all men to  
 contend with ? for that must have been the  
 case : I cannot think, that you would have  
 advised me to it. Sallust says, that I ought  
 to have done either the one or the other ;  
 and in compliment to Pompey have defended  
 him ; who begged it of me indeed very ear-  
 nestly — A special friend this Sallust ! to wish  
 me to involve myself either in a dangerous  
 enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am delight-  
 ed with my middle way ; and when I had  
 given my testimony faithfully and religiously,  
 was pleased to hear Gabinius say, that if it  
 should be permitted to him to continue in the  
 City, he would make it his busines to give  
 me satisfaction ; nor did he so much as inter-  
 rogate me — [b].” He gives the same ac-  
 count of this trial to his other friends ; “ how  
 Lentulus acted his part so ill, that people  
 were persuaded, that he prevaricated — and  
 that Gabinius’s escape was owing to the inde-  
 fatigable industry of Pompey, and the cor-  
 ruption of the Bench [c].”

A. Urb. 699. *About* the time of this trial there happened a  
 Cic. 53. terrible inundation of the Tiber, which did much  
 Coss. damage at Rome: many houses and shops were  
 L. DOMITIUS carried away by it, and the fine gardens of Cicero's  
 AHENO- son-in-law, Crassipes, demolished. It was all  
 BARBUS, charged to the absolution of Gabinius, after his  
 A. CLAUDIO- daring violation of Religion, and contempt of the  
 PULCHER. Sibyl's books: Cicero applies to it the following  
 passage of Homer [d].

*As when in autumn Jove his fury pours,  
 And earth is loaden with incessant showers ;  
 When guilty mortals break the eternal laws,  
 And Judges brib'd betray the righteous cause,  
 From their deep beds he bids the Rivers rise,  
 And opens all the flood-gates of the skies.*

Mr. Pope, Il. 16. v. 466.

BUT Gabinius's danger was not yet over: he was to be tried a second time, for the plunder of his Province; where C. Memmius, one of the Tribuns, was his Accuser, and M. Cato his Judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favor: Pompey pressed Cicero to defend him, and would not admit of any excuse; and Gabinius's humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for Pompey's solicitation. Cicero stood firm for a long time: Pompey, says he, labors hard with me, but has yet made no im-

latus? ——Accusatorum incredibilis infamia, id est L. Lentuli, quem fremunt omnes prevaricatum; deinde Pompeii mira contentio, Ju- dicum sordea. Ad Att. 4 16.

[d] Romæ, & maxime

Appia ad Martis, mira pro- luvies. Crassipedis ambula- tio ablata, horti, tabernæ plurimæ. Magna vis aquæ usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri — Ca- dit enim in absolucionem Ga- binii — Ad Quint. 3. 7.

*pressus,*

pression, nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will [e];

Oh! e'er that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,  
O'erwhelm me earth —

Il. 4. 218.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.

L. DOMITIUS  
AREN-  
BARBUS,

A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER:

but Pompey's incessant importunity, backed by Cæsar's earnest request, made it vain to struggle any longer; and forced him against his judgement, his resolution, and his dignity to defend Gabinius; at a time when his defence at last proved of no service to him; for he was found guilty by Cato, and condemned of course to a perpetual banishment. It is probable, that Cicero's Oration was never published, but as it was his custom, to keep the minutes or rough draught of all his pleadings, in what he called *his Commentaries*, which were extant many ages after his death [f]; so St. Jerom has preserved from them a small fragment of this speech; which seems to be a part of the apology, that he found himself obliged to make for it; wherein he observes, "that when Pompey's authority had

"once reconciled him to Gabinius, it was no  
"longer in his power to avoid defending him;  
"for it was ever my persuasion, *says he*, that  
"all friendships should be maintained with a re-  
"ligious exactness; but especially those, which  
"happen to be renewed from a quarrel: for in  
"friendships, that have suffered no interruption,  
"a failure of duty is easily excused by a plea of

[s] Pompeius a me valde  
contendit de reditu in gratiam,  
sed adhuc nihil profecit: nec  
si ullam partem libertatis te-  
nebo, proficiet.—Ad Quin.  
3. 1. §. 5.

De Gabinio nihil fuit fa-  
ciendum istorum, &c. τέτη  
με χάρι. Il. 4. 218.  
[f] Quod fecisse M. Tul-  
lium Commentariis ipsius ap-  
paret. Quintil. l. x. c. 7.  
“ inadvertency,

A. Urb. 699. " inadvertency, or at the worst, of negligence ;  
 Cic. 53. " whereas, if after a reconciliation any new of-  
 fense be given, it never passes for negligent,  
 L. DOMITIUS " but wilful ; and is not imputed to imprudence,  
 AHENO-  
 BARBUS, " but to perfidy [g]."

A. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup> THE Proconsul, Lentulus, who resided still in Cilicia, having had an account from Rome, of Cicero's change of conduct, and his defence of Vatinius; wrote a sort of expostulatory Letter to him, to know the reasons of it; telling him, that he had heard of his reconciliation with Cæsar and Ap-pius, for which he did not blame him; but was at a loss, how to account for his new friendship with Crassus; and above all, what it was, that induced him to defend Vatinius. This gave occasion to that long and elaborate answer from Cicero, already referred to, written before Gabinius's trial; which would otherwise have made his apology more difficult, in which he lays open the motives and progress of his whole behaviour from the time of his exile— " As to the case of Vatinius, he says, as soon as he was chosen Praetor, where I warmly opposed him, in favor of Ca-to, Pompey prevailed with me to be reconciled to him; and Cæsar afterwards took sur-prizing pains with me to defend him; to which I consented, for the sake of doing what, as I told the court at the trial, the Parasite, in the Eunuch, advised his Patron to do :

" Whenever she talks of Phædria, do you presently praise Pampilia, &c. so I begged of the Judges, that since certain persons of distinguished rank, to whom I was much obliged, were so fond of my enemy, and affected to care for him in the Senate before my face, with all the marks of familiarity; and since

[g] Vid. Fragment. Orationum.—

" they

“ they had their Publius to give me jealousy, I A. Urb. 69g.  
“ might be allowed to have my Publius also, to Cic. 53.  
“ seize them with in my turn—.” Then as to Conf.  
his general conduct, he makes this general de- L. DOMITIUS  
fence; “ that the union and firmness of the ANENO-  
neft, which subsifted when Lentulus left BARBUS,  
Rome, confirmed, says he, by my Consulship A. CLAUDIO-  
and revived by yours, is now quite broken PULCHEA.  
and deserted by those, who ought to have  
supported it, and were looked upon as Pa-  
triots; for which reason, the maxims and  
measures of all wise Citizens, in which class I  
always wish to be ranked, ought to be changed  
too: for it is a precept of Plato, whose au-  
thority has the greatest weight with me, to  
contend in public affairs, as far as we can per-  
suade our Citizens, but not to offer violence;  
either to our Parent or our Country—If I  
was quite free from all engagements, I should  
act therefore as I now do; should not think it  
prudent, to contend with so great a power;  
nor if it could be effected, to extinguish it in  
our present circumstances; nor continue al-  
ways in one mind, when the things themselves  
and the sentiments of the honest are altered;  
since a perpetual adherence to the same measures  
has never been approved by those, who know  
best how to govern estates: but as in sailing, it  
is the business of art, to be directed by the  
weather, and foolish to persevere with danger in  
the course, in which we set out, rather than by  
changing it, to arrive with safety, though later,  
where we intended; so to us, who manage  
public affairs, the chief end proposed being  
dignity with public quiet, our busines is not  
to be always saying, but always aiming at the  
same thing. Wherefore if all things, as I  
said,

A. Urb. 699. " said, were wholly free to me, I should be the  
 Cic. 53. " same man that I now am: but when I am in-  
 Coſſ. " vited to this conduct on the one ſide by kind-  
 L. DOMITIUS " neſſes, and driven to it on the other by injuries,  
 AHENO- " I eaſily ſuffer myſelf to vote and act, what I  
 BARBUS, " take to be uſefull both to myſelf and the Re-  
 A. CLAUDIUS " public; and I do it the more freely, as well  
 PULCHER. " on the account of my Brother's being Cæſar's  
 " Lieutenant, as that there is not the leaſt thing,  
 " which I have ever ſaid or done for Cæſar, but  
 " what he has repaid with ſuch eminent grati-  
 " tude, as perſuades me, that he takes himſelf  
 " to be obliged to me; ſo that I have as much  
 " uſe of all his power and intereſt, which you  
 " know to be the greateſt, as if they were my  
 " own: nor could I otherwife have defeated the  
 " deſigns of my desperate enemies, if to thoſe  
 " forces which I have always been master of, I  
 " had not joined the favor of the men of power.  
 " Had you been here to advise me, I am per-  
 " ſuaded, that I ſhould have followed the ſame  
 " meaſures: for I know your good nature and  
 " moderation; I know your heart, not onely  
 " the moſt friendly to me, but void of all ma-  
 " levolence to others; great and noble, open  
 " and ſincere, &c. [b]" He often defends him-  
 ſelf on other occasions by the ſame alluſion to the  
*art of ſailing*: " I cannot reckon it inconfiſtancy,  
 " ſays he, to change and moderate our opinion,  
 " like the course of a ſhip, by the weather of  
 " the Republic; this is what I have learnt, have  
 " obſerved, have read; what the records of  
 " former ages have delivered, of the wiſeſt and  
 " moſt eminent Citizens, both in this and all o-  
 " ther Cities; that the ſame maxims are not al-  
 " ways to be pursued by the ſame men; but

[b] Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

" ſuch,

“ such, whatever they be, which the state of the A. Urb. 699.  
 “ Republic, the inclination of the times, the Cic. 53.  
 “ occasions of public peace require: this is what Coll.  
 “ I am now doing, and shall always do——[i].” L. DOMITIUS  
 THE trial of C. Rabirius Postumus, a person AHENO-  
 of Equestrian rank, was an appendix to that of A. CLAUDIO-  
 Gabinius. It was one of the articles against BARBUS.  
 Gabinius, that he had received about two millions PULCHER.  
 for restoring King Ptolemy; yet all his estate,  
 which was to be found, was not sufficient to an-  
 swer the damages, in which he was condemned;  
 nor could he give any security for the rest: in  
 this case, the method was, to demand the defi-  
 ciency from those, through whose hands the ma-  
 nagement of his money affairs had passed, and  
 who were supposed to have been sharers in the  
 spoil: this was charged upon Rabirius; and that  
 he had advised Gabinius to undertake the restoration  
 of the King, and accompanied him in it, and was  
 employed to solicit the payment of the money, and  
 lived at Alexandria for that purpose, in the King's  
 service, as the public Receiver of his taxes, and  
 wearing the Pallium or habit of the country.

CICERO urged in defence of Rabirius, “ that  
 “ he had born no part in that transaction; but  
 “ that his whole crime, or rather folly was, that  
 “ he had lent the King great sums of money  
 “ for his support at Rome; and ventured to trust  
 “ a Prince, who, as all the world then thought,

[i] Neque enim inconstan-  
 tis puto, sententiam, tan-  
 quam aliquod navigium at-  
 que cursum ex Reip. tem-  
 pestate moderari. Ego vero  
 haec didici, haec vidi, haec  
 scripta legi: haec de sapien-  
 tissimis & clarissimis viris, &  
 in hac Repub. & in aliis civi-

tatibus monumenta nobis &  
 literæ prodiderunt: non sem-  
 per eisdem sententias ab iis-  
 dem, sed quascunque Reip.  
 status, inclinatio temporum,  
 ratio concordia postularet, ei-  
 se defendendas. Quod ego  
 & facio, & semper faciam.  
 —Pro Plancio. 39.

“ was

- A. Urb. 699. " was going to be restored by the authority of  
 Cic. 53. " the Roman people : that the necessity of going  
 Coss. " to Egypt for the recovery of that debt, was  
 L. DOMITIUS  
 AHENO-  
 BARBUS,  
 A. CLAUDIUS  
 PULCHER. " the source of all his misery ; where he was  
 forced to take whatever the King would give or  
 impose : that it was his misfortune, to be ob-  
 liged to commit himself to the power of an ar-  
 bitrary Monarch : that nothing could be more  
 mad, than for a Roman Knight, and Citizen  
 of a Republic of all others the most free, to  
 go to any place, where he must needs be a  
 slave to the will of another ; that all who ever  
 did so, as Plato and the wisest had sometimes  
 done too hastily, always suffered for it : this  
 was the case of Rabirius : necessity carried  
 him to Alexandria ; his whole fortunes were  
 at stake [*k*] ; which he was so far from im-  
 proving by his traffic with that King, that he  
 was ill treated by him, imprisoned, threatened  
 with death, and glad to run away at last with  
 the loss of all : and at that very time, it was  
 wholly owing to Cæsar's generosity, and re-  
 gard to the merit and misfortunes of an old  
 friend, that he was enabled to support his for-  
 mer rank and Equestrian dignity — [*l*].<sup>6</sup> Gabi-  
 nius's trial had so near a relation to this, and  
 was so often referred to in it, that the Prosecu-  
 tors could not omit so fair an opportunity of rail-  
 ing Cicero, for the part which he had acted in  
 it : Memmius observed, that the Deputies of Alex-  
 andria had the same reason for appearing for Gabi-  
 nius, which Cicero had for defending him, the  
 command of a Master — No, Memmius, replied Ci-  
 cero, my reason for defending him, was a reconcili-  
 ation with him ; for I am not ashamed to own, that  
 my quarrels are mortal, my friendships immortal :

[*k*] Pro Rabir. 8, 9.[*l*] Ib. 15.

and

and if you imagine, that I undertook that cause for A. Urb. 699.  
fear of Pompey, you neither know Pompey, nor me ; Cic. 53.  
for Pompey would neither desire it of me against my Con.  
will, nor would I, after I had preserved the liberty L. DOMITIUS  
of my Citizens, ever give up my own [m]. AHENO-  
BARBVS,  
PULCHER.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS reckons Cicero's defence A. CLAUDIO-  
of Gabinius and Vatinius, among the great and  
laudable examples of humanity, which the Roman  
History furnished ; as it is nobler, he says, to con-  
quer injuries with benefits, than to repay them in  
kind, with an obstinacy of hatred [n]. This turn is  
agreeable to the design of that writer, whose view  
it seems to be, in the collection of his stories, to  
give us rather what is strange, than true ; and to  
dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake  
of drawing a moral from them : for whatever Ci-  
cero himself might say for it, in the florishing  
style of an oration, it is certain, that he knew and  
felt it to be, what it really was, an indignity and  
dishonor to him, which he was forced to submit  
to by the iniquity of the times, and his engage-  
ments with Pompey and Cæsar, as he often la-  
ments to his friends in a very passionate strain :  
*I am afflicted, says he, my dearest Brother, I am  
afflicted, that there is no Republic, no Justice in tri-  
als; that this season of my life, which ought to flo-*

[m] Ait etiam meus fami-  
liaris, eandem causam Alex-  
andrinis fuisse, cur laudarent  
Gabinium, quæ mihi fuit ,  
cur eundem defendererem. Mi-  
hi, C. Memmi, causa defenden-  
dendi Gabini fuit reconcili-  
atio gratiae. Neque vero me  
poenitet, mortales inimicities  
sempiternas amicities babere.  
Nam si me invitum putas, ne  
Cn. Pompeii animum offend-  
erem, defendisse causam ,

& illum & me vehementer ig-  
noras. Neque enim Pompeius  
me sua causa quidquam fa-  
cere voluisse invitum ; ne-  
que ego, cui omnium civium  
libertas carissima fuisset, me-  
am projecissem—Pro C. Ra-  
bir. Post. 12.

[n] Sed hujuscce generis  
humanitas etiam in M. Cice-  
rone præcipua apparuit, &c.  
Val. Max. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 699. *risk in the authority of the Senatorian character, is Cic. 53. either wasted in the drudgery of the Bar, or relieved Coll.*  
 L. DOMITIUS *only by domestic studies; that what I have ever been AHENO-*  
*BARBUS,*

A. CLAUDIOUS  
 PULCHER.

*In every virtuous act and glorious strife  
 To shew the first and best—*

*is wholly lost and gone; that my enemies are partly not opposed, partly even defended by me; and neither what I love, nor what I hate, left free to me [o].*

WHILE Cæsar was engaged in the British expedition, his daughter Julia, Pompey's wife, died in child-bed at Rome, after she was delivered of a son, which died also soon after her. Her loss was not more lamented by the Husband and Father, who both of them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and well-wishers to the public peace; who considered it as a source of fresh disturbance to the state, from the ambitious views and clashing interests of the Two Chiefs; whom the life of one so dear, and the relation of Son and Father seemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection [p]. Cæsar is said *to have born the news of*

[o] Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor, nullam esse Remp. nulla judicia, nostrumque hoc tempus ætatis, quod in illa Senatoria auctoritate florere debebat, aut forensi labore jactari, aut domesticis litteris sustentari. Illud vero quod a puerō adamaram,  
 Αἴσιος εἰσίν, οὐ ὑπέρβοχός ἐμπονεῖς ἀλλαν.

II. ζ. 208.  
 totum occidisse; inimicos a

me partim non oppugnatos; partim etiam esse defensos; meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum—Ad Quin. 3. 5.

[p] Cum medium jam, ex invidia potentiae male cohaerentis inter Cn. Pompeium & C. Cæsarem, concordiz pignus, Julia uxor Magni decepsit—Filius quoque parvus, Julia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Vell. Pat. 2. 47. Val. M. 4. 6.

her death with an uncommon firmness [q] : it is certain, that she had lived long enough to serve all the ends, which he proposed from that alliance, and to procure for him every thing that Pompey's power could give : for while Pompey, forgetfull of his honor and interest, was spending his time ingloriously at home, in the caresses of a young wife, and the delights of *Italy* ; and, as if he had been onely Cæsar's agent, was continually decreeing fresh honors, troops and money to him ; Cæsar was pursuing the direct road to Empire ; training his Legions in all the toils and discipline of a bloody war ; himself always at their head, animating them by his courage, and rewarding them by his bounty ; till from a great and wealthy Province, having raised money enough to corrupt, and an army able to conquer all, who could oppose him, he seemed to want nothing for the vast execution of his designs, but a pretext to break with Pompey ; which, as all wise men foresaw, could not long be wanted, when Julia, the cement of their union, was removed. For though the power of the Triumvirate had given a dangerous blow to the liberty of *Rome*, yet the jealousies and separate interests of the Chiefs obliged them to manage it with some decency ; and to extend it but rarely, beyond the forms of the constitution ; but whenever that league should happen to be dissolved, which had made them already too great for private subjects, the next contest of course must be for dominion, and the single mastery of the Empire.

[q] Cæsar — cum andivit munera. Senec. Consol. ad Helv. p. 116.  
decessisse filiam — inter terram diem Imperatoria obiit

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIO-  
PULCHER..

A. Urb. 699.

Cic. 53.

Coff.

L. DOMITIUS

AHENO-

BARBUS,

A. CLAUDIUS

PULCHER.

ON the second of November, C. Pontinius triumphed over the *Allobroges*: he had been *Prætor*, when Cicero was *Consul*; and at the end of his Magistracy obtained the government of that part of *Gaul*, which, having been tampering with *Ca-*  
*tiline* in his conspiracy, broke out soon afterwards into open Rebellion, but was reduced by the vi-  
gour of this General. For this service, he de-  
manded a *Triumph*, but met with great oppo-  
sition, which he surmounted with incredible pa-  
tience: for he persevered in his suit, *for five years successively*; residing all that while, accord-  
ing to custom, in the suburbs of the City, till he  
gained his point at last by a kind of violence.  
Cicero was his friend, and continued in *Rome* on  
purpose to assist him; and the *Consul* Appius  
served him with all his power; but *Cato* prædicted,  
that *Pontinius* should never triumph while he lived;  
though this, says Cicero, like many of his other  
threats, will end at last in nothing. But the *Præ-  
tor* *Galba*, who had been his Lieutenant, having  
procured by stratagem an act of the people in his  
favor, he entered the City in his *Triumphal Chariot*, where he was so rudely received and op-  
posed in his passage through the streets, that he  
was forced to make his way with his sword, and  
the slaughter of many of his adversaries [r].

IN the end of the year, Cicero consented to  
be one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants in Spain; which he

[r] Ea re non longius, quam vellem, quod Pontinio ad Triumphum volebam adesse: etenim erit nescio quid negotioli, &c. Ad Quin. 3. 5.

Pontinius vult A. D. IV.  
Non. Novemb. triumphare.  
Huic obviam Cato & Servi-

lius Prætores aperte, & Q.  
Mucina Tribunis.—Sed erit  
cum Pontinio Appius Consul,  
Cato tamen affirmat, se vivo  
illum non triumphare, id ego  
puto, ut multa ejusdēm, ad  
nihil rēcasurum.—Ad Att. 4.  
16. It. Dio. l. 39. p. 120.

began to think convenient to the present state of his affairs, and resolved to set forward for that Province, about the middle of January [s] : but this seemed to give some umbrage to Cæsar, who, by the help of Quintus, hoped to disengage him gradually from Pompey, and to attach him to himself ; and with that view had begged of him in his Letters, to continue at Rome [t], for the sake of serving himself with his authority, in all affairs which he had occasion to transact there ; so that out of regard probably to Cæsar's uneasiness, Cicero soon changed his mind, and resigned his Lieutenancy : to which he seems to allude in a Letter to his Brother, where he says, *that he had no second thoughts in whatever concerned Cæsar ; that he would make good his engagements to him ; and being entered into his friendship with judgement, was now attached to him by affection [u]*.

He was employed at Cæsar's desire along with Oppius, in settling the plan of a most expensive and magnificent work, which Cæsar was going to execute at Rome, out of the spoils of Gaul ; a new Forum, with many grand buildings annexed to it ; for the area of which alone, they had contracted to pay to the several owners, about five hundred thousand pounds ; or as Suetonius computes, near double that sum [x]. Cicero calls it a glorious

[s] Sed heus tu, scripse-  
namne tibi me esse legatum  
Pompeio ; & extra urbem  
quidem fore, ex Id. Jan. vi-  
sum est hoc mihi ad multa  
quadrare—Ad Att. 4. 18.

[t] Quod mihi tempus,  
Roma præfertim, ut iste me  
rogat, manenti, vacuum of-  
tenditur ?—Ad Quin. 2. 15.

[u] Ego vero nullas divi-

gas operidas habere possum  
in Cæsaris rebus—Videor id  
judicio facere. Jam enim  
dobeo : sed tamen amore  
sum incensus—Ad Quin. 3.  
1. §. 5.

[x] Forum de manubiis  
inchoavit ; cuius area super  
H. S. millies constitit. Suet.  
J. Cæs. 26.

A. Urb. 699.  
Cic. 53.  
Coff.  
L. DOMITIUS  
AHENO-  
BARBUS,  
A. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER.

A. Urb. 659. piece of work, and says, that the partitions, or en-  
 Cic. 53. closures of the Campus Martius, in which the Tribes  
 Cost. used to vote, were all to be made new of marble,  
 L. DOMITIUS AHENO- BARBUS,  
 A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. with a roof likewise of the same, and a stately Por-  
 tico carried round the whole, of a mile in Circuit,  
 to which a public Hall or Town-house was to be  
 joined [y]. While this building was going for-  
 ward, L. Æmilius Paullus was employed in rais-  
 ing another, not much inferior to it, at his own  
 expence: for he repaired and beautified an ancient  
 Baslica in the old Forum; and built at the same  
 time a new one with Pbyrgian columns, which was  
 called after his own name; and is frequently men-  
 tioned by the later writers, as a Fabric of won-  
 derfull magnificence, computed to have cost him  
 three hundred thousand pounds [z].

A. Urb. 700. THE new Tribuns pursued the measures of  
 Cic. 54. their Predecessors, and would not suffer an elec-  
 tion of Consuls; so that when the new year  
 came on, the Republic wanted its proper head: in  
 this case, the administration fell into the hands  
 of an Interrex; a provisional Magistrate, who  
 must necessarily be a Patrician, and chosen by the  
 body of Patricians, called together for that pur-

[y] Itaque Cæsaris amici  
 (me dico & Oppium, dirum-  
 paris licet) in monumentum  
 illud, quod tu tollere laudibus  
 solebas, ut Forum laxaremus,  
 & usque ad Libertatis atrium  
 explicaremus, consumfimus  
 H. S. Sexcenties: cum pri-  
 vatis non poterat transfigi mi-  
 nore pecunia. Efficiemus  
 rem gloriofissimam. Nam in  
 Campo Martio septa Tribu-  
 tis comitis marmorea sumus,

& tefta facturi, eaque cinge-  
 mus excelsa portica, ut mille  
 paſſuum conficiatur. Simul  
 adjungeretur huic operi, villa  
 etiam publica — Ad Att. 4.  
 16.

[z] Paullus in medio Fo-  
 ro Basilicam jam pene texuit,  
 iisdem antiquis columnis: il-  
 lam autem, quam locavit,  
 facit magnificentissimam. Ni-  
 hil gratus illo monumento,  
 nihil gloriatus — Ibid. —

pose

pose by the Senate [a]. His power however was A. Urb. 700.  
but short-lived, being transferred, *every five days*,  
from one *Interrex* to another, till an election of  
Consuls could be obtained; but the Tribuns,  
whose authority was absolute, while there were  
no Consuls to controul them, continued fierce  
against any election at all: some were for reviv-  
ing the *ancient dignity of military Tribuns*; but  
that being unpopular, a more plausible Scheme  
was taken up and openly avowed, *of declaring*  
*Pompey Dictator*. This gave great apprehensions  
to the City, for the memory of *Sylla's Dictator-  
ship*; and was vigorously opposed by all the  
Chiefs of the Senate, and especially by Cato:  
Pompey chose to keep himself out of sight, and  
retired into the country, to avoid the suspicion  
of affecting it. "The rumor of a Dictatorship,  
" says Cicero, is disagreeable to the honest; but  
" the other things, which they talk of, are  
" more so to me: the whole affair is dreaded,  
" but flags: Pompey flatly disclaims it, though he  
" never denied it to me before: the Tribun Hir-  
" rus will probably be the promotor: good Gods!  
" how filly and fond of himself without a rival?  
" At Pompey's request, I have deterred Crassus,  
" Junianus, who pays great regard to me, from  
" meddling with it. It is hard to know, whe-  
" ther Pompey really desires it or not; but if  
" Hirrus stir in it, he will not convince us, that  
" he is averse to it [b]." In another Letter;

K 3                  " Nothing

[a] Vid. Ascon. argument. in Milon.—

[b] Rumor Dictatoris in-  
jecundus bonis: mihi etiam  
magis que loquuntur. Sed  
tota res & timetur & refri-  
gescit. Pompeius plane se  
negat velle: antea ipse mi-  
hi non negabat. Hirrus auc-  
tor fore videtur. O Di, quam  
ineptus, & quam se amans fi-  
ne rivali! Crassum Junianum,  
hominem mihi deditum, per  
me deterruit. Velit, nolit,  
scire

A. Urb. 700. "Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorship ;  
 Cic. 54. "Pompey is still absent ; Appius in a great bustle ; Hirrus preparing to oppose it ; but several are named as ready to interpose their negative : the people do not trouble their heads about it ; the Chiefs are against it ; I keep myself quiet [c]."  
 Cicero's friend, Milo, was irresolute how to act on this occasion ; he was forming an interest for the Consulship ; and if he declared against a Dictatorship, was afraid of making Pompey his enemy ; or if he should not help the opponents, that it would be carried by force ; in both which cases, his own pretensions were sure to be disappointed : he was inclined therefore to join in the opposition, but so far only, as to repel any violence [d].

THE Tribuns in the mean time were growing every day more and more insolent, and engrossing all power to themselves ; till Q. Pompeius Rufus, the Grandson of Sylla, and the most factious espouser of a Dictator, was, by a resolute decree of the Senate, committed to prison : and Pompey himself, upon his return to the City, finding the greater and better part utterly averse to his Dictatorship, yielded at last after an Interregnum of six months, that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Messala, should be declared Consuls [e]. These were agreeable likewise to Cæsar : Cicero had particularly recommended

scire difficile est. Hirro tam  
men agente, nolle se non  
probabit—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

[c] De Dictatore tamen  
actum nihil est. Pompeius  
abest : Appius miscet : Hir-  
rus parat : multi intercessio-  
res numerantur : populus non  
curat : principes nolunt : ego  
quiesco—Ib. 9.

[d] Hoc horret Milo—&  
si ille Dictator factus sit, pene  
diffidit. Intercessorem dic-  
tature si juverit manu & pre-  
sidio suo Pompeium metuit  
initicium ; si non juverit, ti-  
met, ne per vim perforatur—  
Ib. 8.

[e] Vid. Dio. 1. 40. p.  
141.

Messala

Messala to him; of whom, he says in a Letter A. Urb. 700.  
to his Brother; *As to your reckoning Messala and Cic. 54.  
Caiusnus sure Caius, you agree with what we  
think here; for I will be answerable to Caesar for  
Messala [i].*

Coff.  
Cn. DOMITI-  
US CALVI-  
NUS,  
M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA.

BUT after all this bustle about a *Dicator*, there seems to have been no great reason for being much afraid of it at this time: for the Republic was in so great a disorder, that nothing less than the *Dictatorial* power could reduce it to a tolerable state: some good of that kind might reasonably be expected from Pompey, without the fear of any great harm, while there was so sure a check upon him as Caesar; who upon any exorbitant use of that power, would have had the Senate and all the better sort on his side, by the specious pretence of asserting the public liberty: Cicero therefore judged rightly, in thinking, that there were other things, which might be apprehended, and seemed likely to happen, that, in their present situation, were of more dangerous consequence than a *Dicatorship*.

THERE had scarce been so long an *Interregnum* in Rome, since the expulsion of their Kings; during which, all public business, and especially all judicial proceedings were wholly interrupted: which explains a jocose passage in one of Cicero's *Letters to Trebatius*; if you had not already, says he, been absent from Rome, you would certainly have run away now: for what business is there for a Lawyer in so many *Interregnums*? I advise all my Clients, if sued in any action, to move every In-

[f] Messalam quod certum Consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messalam Caesaris prestatabo—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

A. Urb. 700. *terreae twice for more time: do not you think, that*  
 Cic. 54. *I have learnt the law of you to good purpose [g]?*

Coff.

CN. DOMITI-  
US CALVI-  
NUS,  
M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA.

He now began a correspondence of Letters with Curio, a young Senator of distinguished birth and parts, who upon his first entrance into the Forum had been committed to his care, and was at this time *Quæstor in Asia*. He was possessed of a large and splendid fortune; by the late death of his Father; so that Cicero, who knew his high spirit and ambition, and that he was formed to do much good or hurt to his country, was desirous to engage him early in the interests of the Republic; and by instilling great and generous sentiments, to inflame him with a love of true glory. Curio had sent orders to his agents at *Rome*, to proclaim a *show of gladiators in honor of his deceased Father*: but Cicero loopt the declaration of it for a while, in hopes to dissuade him from so great and fruitless an expence [b]: He foresaw, that nothing was more likely to corrupt his virtue, than the ruin of his fortunes; or to make him a dangerous Citizen, than prodigality; to which he was naturally inclined, and which Cicero, for that reason, was the more desirous to check at his first setting out: but all his endeavours were to no purpose; Curio resolved to give the *show of Gladiators*; and by a continual profusion of his money, answerable to this beginning, after he had acted the Patriot for some

[g] *Nisi ante Roma pro-  
ficius essem, nunc eam certe  
relinqueres. Quis enim tot  
interregni Jurisconsultum de-  
siderat? Ego omnibus, unde  
petitur, hoc consilii dederim,  
ut a singulis Interregibus bi-  
nas advocationes postulent.  
Satisne tibi video abs te jus*

civile didicisse Ep. Fam. 7.11.

[b] *Rupæ Studium non de-  
fuit declarandorum munerum  
tuo nomine: sed nec mihi  
placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum,  
quidquam te absente fieri,  
quod tibi, eum venisses, non  
esset integrum, &c. Ep. Fam.  
2.3.*

time

time with credit and applause, was reduced at last A. Urb. 700.  
to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar. Cic. 54.

Coff.

CN. DOMITRI-  
US CALVI-  
NUS,  
M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA.

THERE is but little of politics in these Letters, besides some general complaints, of the lost and desperate state of the Republic: in one of them, after reckoning up the various subjects of Epistolary writing; shall I joke with you then, says he, in my Letters? On my conscience, there is not a Citizen, I believe, who can laugh in these times: or shall I write something serious? But what can Cicero write seriously to Curio, unless it be on the Republic? where my case at present is such, that I have no inclination to write, what I do not think—[i]. In another, after putting him in mind of the incredible expectation, which was entertained of him at Rome; “not that I am afraid, says he, that your virtue should not come up to the opinion of the public; but rather, that you find nothing worth caring for at your return; all things are so ruined and oppressed: but I question whether it be prudent to say so much—It is your part however, whether you retain any hopes, or quite despair, to adorn yourself with all those accomplishments, which can qualify a Citizen, in wretched times and profligate morals, to restore the Republic to its ancient dignity [k].”

THE first news from abroad after the inauguration of the Consuls, was of the miserable death

[i] Jocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? Quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem, nisi de Rep.? Atque in hoc genere hac mea causa est, ut neque

ea, que non sentio, velim scribere—ib. 4.

[k] Non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat: sed mehercule, ne cum veneris, non habeas jam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata jam prope & extincta, &c. ib. 5.

ef

A. Urb. 700. of Crassus and his son Publius, with the total defeat  
 Cic. 54. of his army by the Parthians: This was one of  
 Coll. the greatest blows, that Rome had ever received  
 Cx. DOMITI- from a foreign enemy, and for which it was ever  
 US CALVI- after meditating revenge: the Roman writers ge-  
 NUS, nerally imputed it to Crassus's contempt of the Au-  
 M. VALERIUS spices; as some Christians have since charged it,  
 MESSALA. to his sacrilegious violation of the Temple of Jerusa-  
 lem, which he is said to have plundered of two millions; both of them with equal Superstition  
 pretending to unfold the counsils of heaven, and  
 to fathom those depths, which are declared to be *unsearchable* [1]. The chief and immediate con-  
 cern, which the City felt on this occasion, was  
 for the detriment, that the Republic had suffered,  
 and the danger to which it was exposed, by the  
 loss of so great an army; yet the principal mis-  
 chief lay, in what they did not at first regard,  
 and seemed rather to rejoice at, *the loss of Crassus  
 himself*. For after the death of Julia, Crassus's  
 authority was the onely means left, of curbing  
 the power of Pompey, and the ambition of Cæ-  
 sar; being ready always to support the weaker,  
 against the encroachments of the stronger; and  
 keep them both within the bounds of a decent  
 respect to the laws: but this check being now  
 taken away, and the power of the Empire  
 thrown, as a kind of prize, between Two; it  
 gave a new turn to their several pretensions; and  
 created a fresh competition for the larger share;  
 which, as the event afterwards shewed, must ne-  
 cessarily end in the subversion of the whole:

[1] M. Crasso quid acci-  
 derit, videmus dirarum ob-  
 nunciatione neglecta. [De  
 Dio. 1. 16.]

Being for his impious sa-  
 crilege at Jerusalem justly

destined to destruction, God  
 did cast infatuations into all  
 his councils, for the leading  
 him thereto — Prideaux.  
 Connect. Par. 2. p. 362.

PUBLIUS

PUBLIUS CRASSUS, who perished with his Father in this fatal expedition, was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the strictest care, and perfectly instructed in all the liberal studies; he had a ready wit and easy language; was grave without arrogance, modest without negligence, adorned with all the accomplishments, proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic: by the force of his own judgement he had devoted himself very early to the observance and imitation of Cicero, whom he perpetually attended and reverenced with a kind of filial piety. Cicero conceived a mutual affection for him, and observing his eager thirst of glory, was constantly instilling into him the true notion of it; and exhorting him to pursue that sure path to it, which his ancestors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual ascent of civil honors. But by serving under Cæsar in the *Gallic* wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a shorter way to fame and power, than what Cicero had been inculcating; and having signalized himself in a campaign or two as a soldier, was in too much haste to be a General; when Cæsar sent him at the head of a thousand horse, to the assistance of his Father in the *Parthian* war. Here the vigor of his youth and courage carried him on so far, in the pursuit of an enemy, whose chief art of conquest consisted in flying, that he had no way left to escape, but what his high spirit disdained, by the desertion of his troops and a precipitate flight; so that finding himself oppressed with numbers, cruelly wounded, and in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Parthians*, he chose to die by the sword of his Armour-bearer. Thus while he aspired, as Cicero says, to the fame of another Cyrus or Alexander,

A. Urb. 700.  
Cic. 54.  
Coff.  
Cn. DOMITI-  
US CALVI-  
NUS,  
M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA.

A. Urb. 700. ander, he fell short of that glory, which many of  
 Cic. 54. his Predecessors had reaped, from a succession of  
 Coll. bonors, conferred by their country, as the reward of  
 Cn. DOMITI-  
 us CALVI- their services [m].

M. VALERIUS  
 MESSALA. By the death of Young Crassus, a place became  
 vacant in the college of Augurs, for which Cicero  
 declared himself a Candidate: nor was any one  
 so hardy as to appear against him, except Hirrus,  
 the Tribun, who trusting to the popularity of his  
 office and Pompey's favor, had the vanity to  
 pretend to it: but a Competition so unequal fur-  
 nished matter of railly only to Cicero; who  
 was chosen without any difficulty or struggle,  
 with the unanimous approbation of the whole body [n].  
 This College, from the last regulation of it by  
 Sylla, consisted of fifteen, who were all persons  
 of the first distinction in Rome: it was a priest-  
 hood for life, of a character indelible; which no  
 crime or forfeiture could efface: the Priests of all  
 kinds were originally chosen by their Colleges;  
 till Domitius, a Tribun, about fifty years before,  
 transferred the choice of them to the people;  
 whose authority was held to be supreme in sacred,

[m] Hoc magis sum Pub-  
 lio deditus, quod me quan-  
 quam a pueritia semper, ta-  
 men hoc tempore maxime,  
 sicut alterum parentem &  
 observat & diligit. [Ep. Fam.  
 5. 8.]

P. Crassum ex omni nobil-  
 itate adolescentem dilexi  
 plurimum; &c. [ib. 13. 16.]

Cum P. Crasso, cum ini-  
 tio ætatis ad amicitiam se  
 mean contulisset, saepè egis-  
 se me arbitror, cum cum ve-  
 hementissime hortarer, ut e-  
 am laudis viam rectissimam

esse duceret, quam majores  
 ejus ei tritam reliquistar.  
 Erat enim cum institutus op-  
 time, tum plane perfecteque  
 eruditus. Ineratque & inge-  
 nium satis acre, & orationis  
 non inelegans copia: pre-  
 reaque sine arrogantia gravis  
 esse videbatur, & sine segni-  
 tie verecundus, &c. Vid.  
 Brut. p. 407. It. Plut. in  
 Crass.

[n] Quomodo Hirrum pa-  
 tas Auguratus tui competito-  
 rem—Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

as well as civil affairs [o]. This act was reversed A. Urb. 700.  
by Sylla, and the ancient right restored to the Cic. 54.  
Colleges; but Labienus, when Tribun, in Ci- Coff.  
cero's Consulship, recalled the law of Domitius,  
to facilitate Caesar's advancement to the High- Cr. DOMITI-  
Priesthood: it was necessary however, that every us CALVI-  
Candidate should be nominated to the people by two NUS,  
Augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of M. VALERIUS  
bis dignity and fitness for the office: this was done  
in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the  
two most eminent members of the College; and  
after the election, he was installed with all the  
usual formalities by Hortensius [p].  
MESSALA.

As in the last year, so in this, the factions of the City prevented the choice of Consuls: the Candidates, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if the Consulship was to be carried onely by money or arms [q]. Clodius was putting in at the same time for the Praetorship, and employing all his credit and interest to disappoint Milo, by whose obtaining the Consulship, he was sure to be eclipsed and controuled, in the exercise of his subordinate magistracy [r]. Pompey was wholly averse to Milo, who did not pay him that court, which

[o] Atque hoc idem de cœ-  
teris Sacerdotiis Cr. Domi-  
tius Tribanus Pl. tulit, &c.  
De Leg. Ag. 2. 7.

[p] Quo enim tempore me Augurem a toto Collegio ex-  
petitum Cr. Pompeius & Q.  
Hortensius nominaverunt;  
neque enim licebat a pluribus  
nominari—Philip. 2. 2.

Cooptatum me ab eo in  
collegium recordabar, in quo

juratus judicium dignitatis  
meæ fecerat: & inaugura-  
tum ab eodem, ex quo, au-  
gurum institutis in parentis  
eum loco colere debebam.  
Brut. init—

[q] Plutar. in Cato.—

[r] Occurrebat ei, man-  
cam ac debilem Praeturam  
suam futuram Consule Milo-  
ne—Pro Milon. 9.

- A. Urb. 700. he expected, but seemed to affect an indepen-  
 Cic. 54. cy, and to trust to his own strength, while the  
 Coss. other two competitors were wholly at his devo-  
 Cn. DOMITI-  
 us CALVI-  
 nus,  
 M. VALERIUS  
 MESSALA. tion: Hypsaeus had been *bis Quæstor*, and always  
 his Creature; and he designed to make Scipio  
*bis Father-in-law*, by marrying his daughter Cor-  
 nelia, a Lady of celebrated accomplishments, the  
 widow of young *Craffus*.

Cicero, on the other hand, served Milo to the utmost of his power, and ardently wished his success: this he owed to Milo's constant attachment to him, which at all hazards he now resolved to repay: the affair however was likely to give him much trouble, as well from the difficulty of the opposition, as from Milo's own conduct, and unbounded prodigality, which threatened the ruin of all his fortunes: in a Letter to his Brother, who was still with Cæsar, he says, " Nothing can be more wretched than these men and these times: wherefore since no pleasure can now be had from the Republic, I know not why I should make myself uneasy: books, study, quiet, my Country houses, and above all, my children are my sole delight: Milo is my onely trouble: I wish his Consulship may put an end to it; in which I will not take less pains, than I did in my own; and you will assist us there also, as you now do: all things stand well with him, unless some violence defeat us: I am afraid onely, how his money will hold out: for he is mad beyond all bounds in the magnificence of his shews, which he is now preparing at the expence of 250000*l.* but it shall be my care to check his inconfidence in this one article, as far as I am able, &c [s]."

In

[.] Itaque ex Rep. quoniam nihil jam voluptatis capi

In the heat of this competition, Curio was coming home from *Asia*, and expected shortly at *Rome*; whence Cicero sent an express to meet him on the road, or at his landing in *Italy*, with a most earnest and pressing Letter to engage him to Milo's interest.

M. T. Cicero, to C. Curio.

" BEFORE we had yet heard of your coming A. Urb. 701:  
" towards *Italy*, I sent away S. Villius, Milo's  
" friend, with this Letter to you: but when  
" your arrival was supposed to be near, and it  
" was known for certain, that you had left *Asia*,  
" and were upon the road to *Rome*, the impor-  
" tance of the subject left no room to fear, that  
" we should be thought to send too hastily,  
" when we were desirous to have it delivered to  
" you as soon as possible. If my services to you,  
" Curio, were really so great, as they are pro-  
" claimed to be by you, rather than confidered  
" by me, I should be more reserved in asking,  
" if I had any great favor to beg of you: for it.

Cic. 55.

capi potest; cur stomacher,  
necio. Litteras me & stu-  
dia nostra, & otium; Villie-  
que delectant, maximeque  
pueri nostri. Angit unus Mi-  
lo. Sed velim finem afferat  
Consulatus: in quo enitar non  
minus quam sum enitis in  
nostro: tuque istine, quod fa-  
cis, adjuvabis. De quo ca-  
tera (nisi plane vit eripuerit)  
recte fuit: de re familiaris  
timeo.

O si paucitas ex re' areret;

Qui hales H. S. CCC. com-

paret. Cujus in hoc uno in-  
confiderantiam & ego susci-  
nebo, ut potero—Ad Quint.  
3. 9.

Cicero had great reason for  
the apprehensions, which he  
expresses on account of Milo's  
extravagance: for Milo had  
already wasted three estates  
in giving plays and shews to  
the people; and when he  
went soon after into exile was  
found to owe still above half  
a million of our money.  
Plin. l. 36. 15. Ascon. Ar-  
gum. in Milon.

" goes

A. Urb. 701. " goes hard with a modest man, to ask any  
Cic. 55. " thing considerable of one, whom he takes to  
" be obliged to him; lest he be thought to de-  
" mand, rather than to ask; and to look upon  
" it as a debt, not as a kindness. But since your  
" services to me, so eminently displayed in my  
" late troubles, are known to all to be the greatest;  
" and it is the part of an ingenuous mind, to  
" wish to be more obliged to those, to whom  
" we are already much obliged; I made no  
" scruple to beg of you by Letter, what of all  
" things is the most important and necessary to  
" me. For I am not afraid, lest I should not  
" be able to sustain the weight of all your fa-  
" vors, though ever so numerous; being con-  
" fident, that there is none so great, which my  
" mind is not able, both fully to contain, and  
" amply to requite and illustrate. I have placed  
" all my studies, pains, care, industry, thoughts,  
" and in short, my very soul on Milo's Consul-  
" ship; and have resolved with myself, to ex-  
" pect from it, not only the common fruit of  
" duty, but the praise even of piety: nor was  
" any man, I believe, ever so solicitous, for his  
" own safety and fortunes, as I am for his ho-  
" nor; on which I have fixed all my views and  
" hopes. You, I perceive, can be of such ser-  
" vice to him, if you please, that we shall have  
" no occasion for any thing farther. We have  
" already with us, the good wishes of all the  
" honest, engaged to him by his Tribune;  
" and, as you will imagine also, I hope, by his  
" attachment to me: of the populace and the  
" multitude, by the magnificence of his shews  
" and the generosity of his nature: of the youth  
" and men of interest, by his own peculiar cre-  
" dit or diligence among that sort: he has all  
" my

“ my affiance likewise, which, though of little weight, yet being allowed by all to be just and due to him, may perhaps be of some influence. What we want, is a Captain and Leader, or a Pilot, as it were, of all those winds; and were we to chuse one out of the whole City, we could not find a man so fit for the purpose as you. Wherefore, if from all the pains, which I am now taking for Milo, you can believe me to be mindfull of benefits; if grateful; if a good man; if worthy in short of your kindness; I beg of you to relieve my present sollicitude, and lend your helping hand to my praise; or, to speak more truly, to my safety. As to T. Annius himself, I promise you, if you embrace him, that you will not find a man of a greater mind, gravity, constancy, or of greater affection to you: and as for myself, you will add such a luster and fresh dignity to me, that I shall readily own you, to have shewn the same zeal for my honor, which you exerted before for my preservation. If I was not sure, from what I have already said, that you would see how much I take my duty to be interested in this affair, and how much it concerns me, not onely to struggle, but even to fight for Milo's success, I should press you still farther; but I now recommend and throw the whole cause, and myself also with it, into your hands; and beg of you, to assure yourself of this one thing; that if I obtain this favor from you, I shall be more indebted almost to you, than even to Milo himself; since my safety, in which I was principally assisted by him, was not so dear, as the piety of shewing my gratitude will be agreeable to me; which I am persuaded, I

A. Urb. 701. " shall be able to effect by your assistance. A.  
Cic. 55. " dieu [t]."

THE Senate and the better sort were generally in Milo's interest: but *Three of the Tribuns* were violent against him, Q. Pompeius Rufus, Munatius Plancus Burfa, and Sallust the Historian; the other seven were his fast friends, but above all M. Cælius, who, out of regard to Cicero, served him with a particular zeal. But while all things were proceeding very prosperously in his favor, and nothing seemed wanting to crown his success, but to bring on the election, which his adversaries, for that reason, were laboring to keep back; all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencontre with his old enemy Clodius, in which Clodius was killed by his servants and by his command.

THEIR meeting was wholly accidental, on the Appian road, not far from the City; Clodius coming home from the country towards Rome; Milo going out about three in the afternoon; the first on horseback, with three companions, and thirty servants well armed; the latter in a Chariot with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them some Gladiators. The servants on both sides began presently to insult each other; when Clodius turning briskly to some of Milo's men, who were nearest to him, and threatening them with his usual fierceness, received a wound in his shoulder, from one of the Gladiators; and after receiving several more in the general fray, which instantly ensued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for shelter into a neighbouring Tavern. Milo heated by this success, and the thoughts of revenge,

[t] Ep. Fam. 2. 6.

and

and reflecting, that he had already done enough, to give his enemy a great advantage against him, if he was left alive to pursue it, resolved, whatever was the consequence, to have the pleasure of destroying him, and so ordered the house to be stormed, and Clodius to be dragged out and murdered: the Master of the Tavern was likewise killed, with eleven of Clodius's servants, while the rest saved themselves by flight: so that Clodius's body was left in the road, where it fell, till S. Tedium, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his Chaise, and brought it with him to *Rome*; where it was exposed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miserable fate of their Leader. The next day, the mob headed by S. Clodius, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief Incendiaries, carried the body naked, so as all the wounds might be seen, into the Forum, and placed it in the Rostra; where the Three Tribuns, Milo's enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it in a stile suited to the lamentable occasion, by which they inflamed their mercenaries to such a height of fury, that, snatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate house, and tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and together with the body, burnt the house itself, with a *Basilica* also, or public Hall adjoining, called the *Porcian*; and in the same fit of madness, proceeded to storm the house of Milo, and of M. Lepidus, the Interrex, but were repulsed in both attacks, with some loss [u].

THESE

[v] Quisquam re vera, fu- 1. 6. c. 5.  
erat pugna fortuita. Quintil.

L 2

Ἐλεύσας—ξένος τῷ φίλῳ τι-  
λιντοσαί.

A. Urb. 698. THESE extravagancies raised great indignation  
 Cic. 52. in the City; and gave a turn in favor of Milo; who looking upon himself as undone, was meditating nothing before, but *a voluntary exil*: but now taking courage, he ventured to appear in public, and was introduced *into the Rostra, by Cælius*; where he made his defence to the people; and to mitigate their resentment distributed through all the Tribes *above three pounds a man, to every poor Citizen.* But all his pains and expence were to little purpose; for *the three Tribuns* employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humor of the populace; and what was more fatal, Pompey would not be brought into any measures of accommodating the matter; so that the tumults still encreasing, the Senate passed a decree, *that the Interrex, assisted by the Tribuns and Pompey, should take care, that the Republic received no detriment; and that Pompey, in particular, should raise a body of troops for the common security;* which he presently drew together from all parts of *Italy.* In this confusion, *the rumor of a Dictator was again industriously revived,* and gave a fresh alarm to the Senate; who, to avoid the greater evil, resolved presently to create Pompey *the single Consul:* so that the Interrex, Servius Sulpicius, declared his election accordingly, after an Interregnum of near two months [x].

λιντίσαις· αὐτῷ, ἣ τὸ τραϊ-  
 ματός, οἱ περιγράψοι, αφθι-  
 σισθαι. Dio. l. 40. p. 143.

Milo, ut cognovit vulneratum Clodium, cum sibi periculosis illud etiam, vivoquo, futurum intelligeret, occiso autem magnum solarium es-  
 set habiturus, etiam si subeunda

pena esset, exturbari tabernam jussit.—Ita Clodius latens extractus est, multisque vulneribus confectus — &c. Vid. Asconii Argum. in Milon.

[x] Vid. Dio. ibid. &  
 Ascon. Argum. .

POMPEY

POMPEY applied himself immediately to calm A. Urb. 701.  
 the public disorders, and published several new Cic. 55.  
*Laws*, prepared by him for that purpose: one of Cn. POMPEI-  
 them was, to appoint a special commission, to in- us MAG-  
 quire into Clodius's death, the burning of the Senate- NUS III. Sine Collega.  
 house, and the attack on M. Lepidus; and to ap-  
 point an extraordinary Judge, of Consular rank,  
 to preside in it: a second was, against bribery and  
 corruption in elections, with the infliction of new  
 and severer penalties. By these laws, the method  
 of trials was altered, and the length of them li-  
 mited: three days were allowed for the examina-  
 tion of witnesses, and the fourth for the sentence; on  
 which the Accuser was to have two hours only, to  
 enforce the charge; the Criminal three, for his de-  
 fence [y]: which regulation Tacitus seems to  
 consider, as the first step towards the ruin of the  
 Roman eloquence; by imposing reins, as it were,  
 upon it's free and ancient course [z]. Cælius op-  
 posed his negative to these Laws, as being rather  
 privileges, than Laws, and provided particularly  
 against Milo: but he was soon obliged to with-  
 draw it, upon Pompey's declaring, that he would  
 support them by force of Arms. The three Tribuns,  
 all the while, were perpetually haranguing, and  
 terrifying the City with forged stories, of maga-  
 zines of arms prepared by Milo, for massacring his  
 enemies, and burning the City; and produced their  
 creatures in the Rostra, to vouch the truth of them  
 to the people: they charged him particularly, with  
 a design against Pompey's life; and brought one Li-  
 cinius, a killer of the victims for sacrifice, to de-  
 clare that Milo's servants had confessed it to him in  
 their cups, and then endeavoured to kill him, lest

[y] Ibid.

[z] Primus tertio Consu-  
 latu Cn. Pompeius astrinxit,imposuitque veluti frænos e-  
 loquentiæ—&c. Dialog. de  
 Orator. 38.

A. Urb. 701. he should discover it: and to make his story the more  
 Cic. 55. credible, shewed a slight wound in his side, made by  
 Cn. POMPEI- himself, which he affirmed to have been given by  
 us MAG- the stroke of a Gladiator. Pompey himself con-  
 nus III. firmed this fact, and laid an account of it before the  
 Sine Collega. Senate; and by doubling his guard affected to in-  
 timate a real apprehension of danger [a]. Nor  
 were they less industrious to raise a clamor against  
 Cicero; and in order to deter him from pleading  
 Milo's cause, threatened him also with trials and  
 prosecutions; giving it out every where, that  
*Clodius was killed indeed by the hand of Milo, but*  
*by the advice and contrivance of a greater man* [b].  
 Yet such was his constancy to his friend, says  
 Asconius, that *neither the loss of popular favor,*  
*nor Pompey's suspicions, nor his own danger, nor*  
*the terror of arms could divert him from the resolu-*  
*tion of undertaking Milo's defence* [c].

BUT it was Pompey's influence and authority,  
 which ruined Milo [d]. He was the only man  
 in Rome, who had the power either to bring  
 him to a trial, or to get him condemned: not  
 that he was concerned for Clodius's death, or  
 the manner of it, but pleased rather, that the

[a] Audiendus Popa Li-  
 cinius, nescio qui de Circo  
 maximo, servos Milonis apud  
 se ebrios factos confessos esse,  
 de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio  
 conjurasse—de amicorum sen-  
 tentia rem desert ad Senatum  
 —Pro Milon. 24.

[b] Scitis, Judices, fuisse,  
 qui in hac rogatione suadent-  
 da dicerent, Milonis manu  
 cadem esse factam, confilio  
 vero majoris alicujus: vide-  
 hieet me latronem & sciarium  
 abjecti homines describebant.

Ib. 18.

[c] Tanta tamen constan-  
 tia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut  
 non populi a se alienatione,  
 non Cn. Pompeii suspicio-  
 nibus, non periculi futuri me-  
 tu,—non armis, que palam  
 in Milonem sumpta erant,  
 deterri potuerit a defensione  
 ejus. Argum. Milon.

[d] Miloneqm reum non  
 magis invidia facti, quam  
 Pompeii damnavit voluntas.  
 Vell. P. 2. 47.

Republic was freed at any rate from so pestilent a Demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion, for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had cause to apprehend no less trouble. He would not *sine collega* listen therefore to any overtures, which were made to him by Milo's friends; and when Milo offered to drop his suit for the Consulship, if that would satisfy him, he answered, that he would not concern himself with any man's suing or desisting, nor give any obstruction to the power and inclination of the Roman people. He attended the trial in person with a strong guard to preserve peace, and prevent any violence from either side: there were many clear and positive proofs produced against Milo, though some of them were supposed to be forged: among the rest, the Vestal virgins deposed, that a woman unknown came to them in Milo's name, to discharge a vow, said to be made by him, on the account of Clodius's death [e].

When the examination was over, Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgement was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the criminal might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon in the defence, as an insult on the liberty of the Bench [f]. Early in the morning, on the eleventh of April, the shops were all shut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum; where the avenues were possessed by Pompey's soldiers, and he himself seated in a conspicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding,

[e] Vid. Asconii argum. nem facere vobis, quod sentiatis, libere judicare. Pro in Milon.

[f] Ut intelligatis contra hesternam illam concio-

A. Urb. 701.  
Cic. 55.  
Ex. POMPEI-  
us MAG-  
nus III.

A. Urb. 701. and hinder all disturbance. The accusers were,  
 Cic. 55. *Young Appius, the Nephew of Clodius, M. Antonius, and P. Valerius*; who, according to the  
 Cn. Pompei-  
 us Mag-  
 nus III.  
 Sine Collega. new law, employed *two hours*, in supporting their indictment. Cicero was the onely advocate on Milo's side; but as soon as he rose up to speak, he was received with so rude a clamor by the *Clodians*, that he was much discomposed and daunted at his first setting out; yet recovered spirit enoug<sup>b</sup>, to go through his speech of three hours; which was taken down in writing, and published as it was delivered; though the copy of it now extant is supposed to have been retouched and corrected by him afterwards, for the present to Milo in his exil [g].

In the council of Milo's friends, several were of opinion, that he should defend himself, by avowing the death of Clodius, to be an act of public benefit: but Cicero thought that defence too desperate; as it would disgust the grave, by opening so great a door to licence; and offend the powerfull, lest the precedent should be extended to themselves. But young Brutus was not so cautious; who in an oration, which he composed and published afterwards in vindication of Milo, maintained the killing of Clodius to be right and just, and of great service to the Republic [b]. It was notorious, that on both fides, they had often threatened death to each other: Clodius especially had declared several times both to the

[g] Cicero, cum inciperet dicere, acceptus est a clamatione Clodianorum — itaque non ea, qua solitus erat constantia dixit. Manet autem illa quoque excepta eius Oratio—Ascon. Argum.—

[b] Cum quibusdam pla-

cuisse, ita defendi crimen, interfici Clodium pro Repub. fuisse, quam formam M. Brutus fecutus est in ea oratione, quam pro Milone composuit, & edidit, quamvis non egisset, Ciceroni id non placuit—ibid.

Senate and the people, *that Milo ought to be killed*; A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. On. Pompei-  
us Mao-  
nus III. Sine Collega.  
*and that, if the Consulship could not be taken from him, his life could: and when Favonius asked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his mad pranks, while Milo was living; he replied, that in three or four days at most, he should live no more:* which was spoken just three days before the fatal encounter, and attested by Favonius [i]. Since Milo then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggressor in it, and several testimonies were produced to that purpose, Cicero chose to risk the cause on that issue; in hopes to persuade, what seemed to be the most probable, *that Clodius actually lay in wait for Milo, and contrived the time and place; and that Milo's part was but a necessary act of self defence.* This appeared plausible, from the nature of their equipage, and the circumstances in which they met: for though Milo's company was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered, and unfit for an engagement, than his adversary's; *he himself being in a Chariot with his wife, and all her women along with him; while Clodius with his followers was on horseback; as if prepared and equipped for fighting [k]. He did not preclude himself*

[i] Etenim palam dictabat, consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc spe in Senatu; dixit in concione. Quinetiam Favonio, querenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo? Respondit, triduo illum, ad summum quadriduo periturum. Pro Mil. 9.

Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Ib. 16.

[k] Interim cum sciret Clodius—Iter solenne—necessarium—Miloni esse Lanuvium—Roma ipse prosecutus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum, quod re intellectum est, infidias Miloni colloqueret—Milo autem cum in Senatu fuisset eo die, quoad Senatus dimissus est, domum venit, calceos & vestimenta mutavit: paullisper, dum se uxori,

A. Urb. 701. himself however by this from the other plea,  
 Cic. 55. which he often takes occasion to insinuate, that  
 Cn. Pompei- if Milo had really designed and contrived to kill Cle-  
 us Mac- dius, he would have deserved honors instead of  
 nus III. punishment, for cutting off so desperate and dan-  
 Sine Collega. gerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome [!].

In this speech for Milo, after he had shewn the folly of paying such a regard to the idle rumours and forgeries of his enemies, as to give them the credit of an examination, he touches Pompey's conduct and pretended fears, with a fine and masterly raillery; and from a kind of prophetic foresight of what might one day happen, addresses himself to him in a very pathetic manner.——“ I could not but applaud, says he, “ the wonderfull diligence of Pompey in these inquiries: but to tell you freely, what I think; “ those who are charged with the care of the “ whole Republic, are forced to hear many “ things, which they would contemn, if they “ were at liberty to do it. He could not refuse “ an audience to that poultry fellow, Licinius, “ who gave the information about Milo's ser- “ vants —— I was sent for among the first of

uxor, ut sit, comparat, com-  
 moratus est — obviam fit ei  
 Clodius expeditus in equo,  
 nella rheda, nullis impedi-  
 mentibus, nullis Gracis Comiti-  
 bus, sic uero, quod nun-  
 quam fore; cum hic Infida-  
 tur, —(Milo)—cum uero in  
 rheda veheretur penitentem,  
 magno & impedito & crudeli-  
 bri ac delicate ancillarum &  
 puerorum coenitatu — Pro  
 Mill. 10. ic. 21.

[!] Quamobrem si creas-

tum gladium tenens clama-  
 ret T. Annus, adeste, que-  
 so, atque audite cives: P.  
 Clodium interfecit: ejus fa-  
 roles, quos nullis jam legi-  
 bus, nullis iudicis frenare  
 poteramus, hoc ferro, atque  
 hac dextra a cervicibus vestris  
 repuli, &c.—Vos tanti scele-  
 ris utorem non modo homo-  
 ribus nullis afficitis, sed etiam  
 ad supplicium rapi patien-  
 mini? — Pro Mill. 28 — &c.

“ those

“ those friends, by whose advice he laid it be-  
“ fore the Senate ; and was, I own, in no small  
“ consternation, to see the Guardian both of me  
“ and my Country under so great an apprehen-  
“ sion ; yet I could not help wondering, that  
“ such credit was given to a Butcher ; such re-  
“ gard to drunken slaves ; and how the wound  
“ in the man’s side, which seemed to be the  
“ prick only of a needle, could be taken for  
“ the stroke of a Gladiator. But Pompey was  
“ shewing his caution, rather than his fear ; and  
“ disposed to be suspicious of every thing, that  
“ you might have reason to fear nothing. There  
“ was a rumor also, that Caesar’s house was at-  
“ tacked for several hours in the night : the  
“ neighbours, though in so public a place, heard  
“ nothing at all of it ; yet the affair was thought  
“ fit to be enquired into. I can never suspect  
“ a man of Pompey’s eminent courage, of be-  
“ ing timorous ; nor yet think any caution too  
“ great in one, who has taken upon himself the  
“ defence of the whole Republic. A Senator  
“ likewise, in a full house, affirmed lately in the  
“ Capitol, that Milo had a dagger under his  
“ gown at that very time : Milo stript himself  
“ presently in that most sacred Temple ; that,  
“ since his life and manners would not give him  
“ credit, the thing itself might speak for him,  
“ which was found to be false, and basely forged.  
“ But if after all, Milo must still be feared ; it  
“ is no longer the affair of Clodius, but your  
“ suspicions, Pompey, which we dread : your,  
“ your suspicions, I say, and speak it so, that  
“ you may hear me. — If those suspicions stick  
“ so close, that they are never to be removed ;  
“ if Italy must never be free from new levies,  
“ nor the City from arms, without Milo’s de-

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 55.  
Cv. POMPE-  
YUS MAG-  
NUS III.  
Sime College.

“ struction ;

A. Urb. 701. " struction ; he would not scruple, such is his  
 Cic. 55. " nature and his principles, to bid adieu to his  
 Cn. POMPEI-  
 us MAC-  
 NUS III. " Country, and submit to a voluntary exil : but  
 Sine Collega. " at taking leave, he would call upon Thee,  
 " O Thou Great One ! as he now does, to con-  
 " sider how uncertain and variable the condition  
 " of life is : how unsettled and inconstant a  
 " thing fortune ; what unfaithfullnes there is  
 " in friends ; what dissimulation suited to times  
 " and circumstances ; what desertion, what  
 " cowardice in our dangers, even of those, who  
 " are dearest to us : there will, there will, I  
 " say, be a time, and the day will certainly  
 " come, when you, with safety still, I hope,  
 " to your fortunes, though changed perhaps by  
 " some turn of the common times, which, as  
 " experience shews, will often happen to us all,  
 " may want the affection of the friendliest, the  
 " fidelity of the worthiest, the courage of the  
 " bravest man living, &c. [m]"

*Of one and fifty Judges, who sat upon Milo,* thirteen onely acquitted, and thirty-eight condemned him : the votes were uusually given by ballot ; but Cato, who absolved him, chose to give his vote openly ; and " if he had done it earlier, says Velleius, would have drawn others after him ; since all were convinced, that he, who was killed, was, of all who had ever lived, the most pernicious enemy to his Country, and to all good men [n]."  
*Milo went into exil at Marseilles*, a few days after his condemnation : his debts were so great, that he

[m] Pro Mil. 24,25, 26—

[n] M. Cato palam latu  
 abisolvit sententia, quam si  
 maturius tulisset, non defuis-  
 sent, qui sequerentur exem-

plum, probarentque eum ci-  
 vem occisum, quo nemo per-  
 niciosior Reip. neque bonis  
 inimicior vixerat. —— Vell.  
 P. 2. 47.

was glad to retire the sooner from the importunity of his creditors; for whose satisfaction his whole estate was sold by public auction. Here Cicero still continued his care for him, and in concert with Milo's friends, ordered one of his wife's freedmen, Philotimus, to assist at the sale, and to purchase the greatest part of the effects, in order to dispose of them afterwards to the best advantage, for the benefit of *Milo and his wife Fausta, if any thing could be saved for them.* But his intended service was not so well relished by Milo, as he expected; for Philotimus was suspected of playing the knave, and secreting part of the effects to his own use; which gave Cicero great uneasiness; so that he pressed Atticus and Caelius, to enquire into the matter very narrowly, and oblige Philotimus "to give satisfaction to Milo's friends; and to see especially, that his own reputation did not suffer by the management of his servant [o]."  
Through this whole struggle about Milo, Pompey treated Cicero with great humanity: he assigned him a "guard at the trial; forgave all his labors for his friend, though in opposition

A. Urb. 701.  
Cic. 55.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS III.  
Sine Collega.

[o] Confilium meum hoc fuerat, primum ut in potestate nostra res esset, ne illum manus emptor & alienus mancipius, quae permulta secum habet, spoliaret: deinde ut Fausta, cui cautum ille voluisse, ratam esset. Erat etiam illud, ut ipsi nos, si quid servari posset, quam facilime servaremus. Nunc rem totam perspicias velim— Si ille queritur — Si idem Fausta vult, Philotimus, ut

ego ei coram dixeram, mihi que ille receperat, ne fit invito Milone in bonis —

Ad Att. 5. 8. it. 6. 4.

Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium & bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut & Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti, ejusque necessariis satis faceret, & secundum ejus fidem & sedulitatem existimatio tua conferaretur.— Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

" to

" to himself; and so far from resenting what he  
" did, would not suffer other people's resent-  
" ments to hurt him [p]."

THE next trial before the same Tribunal, and for the same crime, was of M. Saufeius, one of Milo's confidents, charged with being the ring-leader, *in storming the house, and killing Clodius*: he was defended also by Cicero, and acquitted only by one vote: but being accused a second time on the same account, though for a different fact, and again defended by Cicero, he was acquitted by a great majority. But Sex. Clodius, the Captain of the other side, had not the luck to escape so well; but was condemned and banished with several others of that faction, to the great joy of the City, for *burning the Senate-house, and the other violences committed upon Clodius's death* [q].

A. Urb. 701. C. Pompey no sooner published his new law against bribery, than the late Consular Candidates, Scipio and Hypsaeus, were severally impeached upon it; and being both of them notoriously guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: but Pompey, calling the body of the Judges together, begged it of them as a favor, that, out of the great number of State Criminals, they would remit Scipio to him: whom after he had rescued from this prosecution, he declared his Colleague in the Consulship, for the last five months of the year; having first made him his Father-in-law by marrying his daughter, Cornelia. The other Can-

Cic. 55.  
Coff.

CN. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS III.

Q. CÆCILII  
METELLUS  
SCIPIO.

[p] Quo humanitate talit  
concessioneum mitam pro Mi-  
lone, adversante interdum  
actionibus suis? Quo studio  
providit, ne quo me illius  
temporis invidia attingeret?

Cum me confilio, tunc statu-  
risse, cum armis denique  
textit suis.—Ib. 3. 10.

[q] Ascon. Argum. pro  
Milon.

dicate,

didate, Hypsaeus, was left to the mercy of the law; and being likely to fare the worse for Scipio's escape, and to be made a sacrifice to the popular odium, he watched an opportunity of access to Pompey, as he was coming out of his bath, and throwing himself at his feet, implored his protection: but though he had been his *Quæster*, and ever obsequious to his will, yet Pompey is said to have thrust him away with great haughtiness and inhumanity, telling him coldly, *that he would only spoil his supper by detaining him* [r].

BEFORE the end of the year, Cicero had some amends for the loss of his friend Milo, by the condemnation and banishment of *Tue of the Tribuns*, the common enemies of them both, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and T. Munatius Plancus Burfa, *for the violences of their Tribunates, and burning the Senate-house*. As soon as their office expired, Cælius accused the first; and Cicero himself the second; the early cause, excepting that of Verres, in which he ever acted the part of an *Accuser*. But Burfa had deserved it, both for his public behaviour in his office, and his personal injuries to Cicero; who had defended and preserved him in a former trial. He depended on Pompey's saving him; and had no apprehension of danger, since Pompey under-

[r] Cr. autem Pompeius  
quam insolenter? Qui balneo  
egressus, ante pedes suos pro-  
stratum Hypsaeum ambitus  
reum & nobilem virum & si-  
bi amicum, jaceantem subiicit,  
contumeliosa voce proculca-  
tum. Nihil enim eum aliud  
agere, quam ut convivium

fuisse moneretur, respondit—  
Ille vero P. Scipio cum, So-  
caram suum, legibus noxi-  
um, quas ipse tulerat, in  
maxima qualitate securam &  
illustrum rursum, munericis le-  
co a Judicibus deposcere —  
Val. Max. 9. 5. it. Plutar. in  
Pomp.

took

A. Urb. 701. took to plead his cause, before Judges of his  
 Cic. 55. own appointing ; yet by Cicero's vigor in managing  
 Coff. the prosecution, he was condemned by an  
 unanimous vote of the whole bench [s]. Cicero  
 Cn. POMPEI- was highly pleased with this success, as he sig-  
 us MAG- nifies in a Letter to his friend Marius, which  
 nus III. will explane the motives of his conduct in it.  
 Q. CÆCILIIUS  
 METELLUS  
 SCIPIO.

“ I know very well, *says he*, that you rejoice  
 “ at Bursa’s fate, but you congratulate me too  
 “ coldly : you imagine, you tell me, that for  
 “ the sordidness of the man, I take the less  
 “ pleasure in it : but believe me, I have more  
 “ joy from this sentence, than from the death  
 “ of my enemy : for in the first place, I love  
 “ to pursue, rather by a trial, than the sword ;  
 “ rather with the glory, than the ruin of a  
 “ friend ; and it pleased me extremely, to see  
 “ so great an inclination of all honest men on  
 “ my side, against the incredible pains of one,  
 “ the most eminent and powerfull : and lastly,  
 “ what you will scarce think possible, I hated  
 “ this fellow worse than Clodius himself : for I  
 “ had attaeked the one, but defended the other :  
 “ and Clodius, when the safety of the Republic  
 “ was risked upon my head, had something  
 “ great in view, not indeed from his own  
 “ strength, but the help of those, who could  
 “ not maintain their ground, whilst I stood firm :  
 “ but this silly Ape, out of a gayety of heart,  
 “ chose me particularly for the object of his in-  
 “ vectives ; and persuaded those, who envied  
 “ me, that he would be always at their service,  
 “ to insult me at any warning. Wherefore I  
 “ charge you to rejoice in good earnest ; for it

[s] Plancum, qui omni- plausu condemnatus ——  
 bus sententiis maximo vestro Philip. 6. 4.

“ is

" is a great victory, which we have won. No A. Urb. 70.  
 " Citizens were ever stouter than those, who Cic. 55.  
 " condemned him, against so great a power of Coss.  
 " one, by whom themselves were chosen Judges: Cn. POMP.  
 " which they would never have done, if they us MAG.  
 " had not made my cause and grief their own. NUS III.  
 " We are so distracted here by a multitude of Q. CÆCILII  
 " trials and new laws, that our daily prayer is METELLUS  
 " against all Intercalations, that we may see you Scipio.  
 " as soon as possible [t]."

SOON after the death of Clodius, Cicero seems to have written his *Treatise on laws* [u]; after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he most loved to imitate: for as Plato, after he had written on government in general, drew up a body of laws, adapted to that particular form of it, which he had been delineating; so Cicero chose to deliver his political sentiments in the same method [x]; not by translating Plato, but imitating his manner in the explication of them. This work being designed then, as a supplement, or second, volume to his other upon *the Republic*, was distributed probably, as that other was, into six books: for we meet with some quotations among the ancients, from the fourth and fifth; though there are but three now remaining, and those in some places imperfect. In the first of these, he lays open the origin of law and the source of obligation; which he derives from the universal nature of things, or, as he explains it, from the consummate reason or will of the supreme

[t] Ep. Fam. 7. 2.

[u] Vid. de Legib. 2. 17.

[x] Sed ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus Philosophorum om-

nium, qui princeps de Repub. conscripsit, idemque separatis de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciendum—De Legib. 2. 6.

A. Urb. 701. *God [y]*: in the other two books, he gives a  
 Cic. 55. body of laws, conformable to his own plan and  
 Coss. idea of a well ordered City [z]: first, those  
 Cn. Pompei- which relate to religion and the worship of the  
 us Mag- Gods; secondly, those which prescribe the duties  
 nus III. and powers of the several magistrates, from which  
 Q. Cæcilius the peculiar form of each government is de-  
 Metellus nominated. These laws are generally taken from  
 Scipio. the old constitution or custom of Rome [a]; with  
 some little variation and temperament, contrived  
 to obviate the disorders, to which that Republic  
 was liable, and to give it a stronger turn towards  
 the Aristocratical side [b]: in the other books  
 which are lost, he had treated, as he tells us, of  
 the particular rights and privileges of the Roman  
 people [c].

POMPEY was preparing an *Inscription* this summer for the front of the New Temple, which he had lately built to Venus the Conqueress, containing as usual, the recital of all his Titles: but in drawing it up, a question happened to be started, about the manner of expressing his third

[y] Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniorum excoqtatam, nec scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed aeternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperar. di prohibendi sapientia. Ita principem legem illam & ultimam mentem esse dicebant, omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei — Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps — ratio est recta summi Jovis.  
 Ib. 2. 4.

[z] Nos autem quoniam

—que de optima Repub. sentiremus, in sex libris ante diximus, accommodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum, quem probamus, civitatis statum. — Ib. 3. 2.

[a] Et si que forte a me hodie rogabuntur, que non sint in nostra Repub. nec fuerint, tamen erunt fere in more majorum, qui tum, ut lex, valebat. Ib. 2. 10.

[b] Nihil habui; sane non multum, quod putarem novandum in legibus. Ib. 3. 5.

[c] Ib. 3. 20.

*Consulship*; whether it should be by *Consul Ter-*  
*tium* or *Tertio*. This was referred to the prin-  
*cipal Critics of Rome*, who could not, it seems,  
agree about it; some of them contending for the  
one, some for the other; so that Pompey left it to  
Cicero, to decide the matter, and to inscribe what  
he thought the best. But Cicero being unwilling  
to give judgement on either side, when there were  
great authorities on both, and Varro among  
them, advised Pompey, to abbreviate the word *in*  
*question*, and order *TERT.* *only to be inscribed*;  
which fully declared the thing, without deter-  
mining the dispute. From this fact we may ob-  
serve, how nicely exact they were in this age, in  
preserving a propriety of language in their public  
monuments and inscriptions [d].

AMONG the other acts of Pompey, in this  
*third Consulship*, there was a new law against bri-  
bery, contrived to strengthen the old ones, that  
were already subsisting against it, “ by disquali-  
“ fying all future *Consuls* and *Prætors*, from  
“ holding any province, till five years after the  
“ expiration of their Magistracies:” for this  
was thought likely to give some check to the  
eagerness of suing and bribing for those great  
offices, *when the chief fruit and benefit of them*  
*was removed to such a distance* [e]. But before  
the law passed, Pompey took care to provide an  
exception for himself, “ and to get the govern-  
“ ment of Spain continued to him for five years  
“ longer; with an appointment of money for  
“ the payment of his troops:” and left this  
should give offence to Cæsar, if something also

A. Urb. 701.  
Cic. 55.  
Coff.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS III.  
Q. CÆCILIU-  
S METELLUS  
SCIPIO.

[d] This story is told by Letter preserved by A. Gel-  
Tiro, a favorite slave and lius. l. 10. s.  
freedman of Cicero, in a [e] Dio, p. 142.

A. Urb. 701. of an extraordinary kind was not provided for  
 Cic. 55. him; he proposed a law, *to dispense with Cæsar's  
 Consul.*  
**CN. POMPEI-**  
**US MAG-**  
**NUS III.**  
**Q. CÆCILIIUS**  
**METELLUS**  
**SCIPIO.**  
 Caesar at that time seemed very desirous. Cælius was the promotor of this law, engaged to it by Cicero, *at the joint request of Pompey and Cæsar [f]*; and it was carried with the concurrence of all the Tribuns, though not without difficulty and obstruction from the Senate: but *this unusual favor, instead of satisfying Cæsar, served only, as Suetonius says, to raise his hopes and demands still bigger [g]*.

By Pompey's law, just mentioned, it was provided, that for a supply of Governors for the interval " of five years, *in which* the Consuls " and Praetors were disqualified, the Senators of " Consular and Praetorian rank, who had never " held any foreign command, should divide the " vacant Provinces among themselves by lot :" in consequence of which, Cicero, who was obliged to take his chance with the rest, obtained *the Government of Cilicia*, now in the hands of Appius, the late Consul: this Province included also *Pisidia, Pamphilia, and three Dioceses*, as they were called, or *Districts of Asia, together with the Island of Cyprus*; for the guard of all which, " a standing army was kept up of two " Legions, or about twelve thousand foot; with " two thousand six hundred horse [b] :" and

[f] Rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio Tribuno pleb. ab ipso autem? Etiam a Cnæo nostro. — Ad Att. 7. 1.

[g] Egit cum Tribunis pleb.—ut absenti fibi—petitio secundi Consulatus da-

retur.—Quod ut adeptus est, altiora jam meditans & speci plenus, nullum largitionis, aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omisit. Suet. J. Cæf. 26.

[b] Ad Att. 5. 15.

thus

thus one of those Provincial Governments, which were withheld from others by law, to correct their inordinate passion for them, was, contrary to his will and expectation, obtruded at last upon Cicero; whose business it had been through life to avoid them [i].

THE City began now to feel the unhappy effects, both of *Julia's* and *Crassus's* death, from the mutual apprehensions and jealousies, which discovered themselves more and more every day between Pompey and Cæsar: the Senate was generally in Pompey's interest; and trusting to the name and authority of so great a Leader, were determined to humble the pride and ambition of Cæsar, by recalling him from his Government; whilst Cæsar, on the other hand, trusting to the strength of his troops, resolved to keep possession of it in defiance of all their votes; and by drawing a part of his forces into the *Italic or Cisalpine Gaul*, so as to be ready at any warning to support his pretensions, began to alarm all *Italy* with the melancholy prospect of an approaching civil war: and this was the situation of affairs, when Cicero set forward towards his Government of Cilicia.

[i] Cum & contra voluntatem meam & præter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam proficiendi necesse esset. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

A. Urb. 701  
Cic. 55.  
Coff.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAG-  
NUS III.  
Q. CÆCILII  
METELLUS  
SCIPIO.

## S E C T. VII.

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

Coff.

SERV. SULPI-

CIUS RUFUS,

M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

THIS year opens to us a new scene in Ciceron's life, and presents him in a character, which he had never before sustained, of *the Governor of a Province, and General of an army*. These preferments were, of all others, the most ardently desired by the great, for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power, and amassing wealth: for their command, though accountable to the Roman people, was absolute and uncontrollable in the Province; where they kept up the state and pride of sovereign Princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, since it was easy to drive the subjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hostility by their oppressions and injuries, till from the destruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired *the Title of Emperor*, and with it the pretension to a triumph; without which scarce any Proconsul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier Province [a]. Their opportunities

[a] While the ancient discipline of the Republic subsisted, no General could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the Empire by his conquests, and killed at least five thousand enemies in battle, without any considerable loss of

his own soldiers. This was expressly enacted by an old law: in support of which a second was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphant Commanders to give a false account of the number of slain, either on the enemy's side, or their

opportunities of raising money were as immense A. Urb. 702.  
as their power, and bounded onely by their Cie. 56.  
own appetites: the appointments from the trea- Coff.  
sury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary fur- SERV. SULPI-  
niture, amounted, as it appears from some in- CIUS RUFUS,  
stances, to near a hundred and fifty thousand M. CLAU-  
pounds [b]: and besides the revenues of king- DIUS MAR-  
doms, and pay of armies, of which they had the CELLUS.  
arbitrary management, they could exact what  
contributions they pleased, not onely from the  
Cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the  
states and Princes around them, who were un-  
der the protection of Rome. But while their  
primary care was to enrich themselves, they car-  
ried out with them always a band of hungry  
friends and dependents, as their *Lieutenants*, *Tri-  
buns*, *Prefects*, with a crew of freedmen and  
favorite slaves, who were all likewise to be en-  
riched by the spoils of the Province, and the  
sale of their master's favors. Hence flowed all  
those accusations and trials for the plunder of  
the subjects, of which we read so much in the  
Roman writers: for as few or none of the Pro-  
consuls behaved themselves with that exact justice,  
as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions  
of the City, and the quarrels of families, subsist-

their own; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæstors or public Treasurers, that the accounts, which they had sent to the Senate, of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] But these laws had long been neglected and treated as obso-  
lete; and the honor of a Triumph usually granted, by  
intrigue and faction, to every

General of any credit, who had gained some little advan-  
tage against Pirates or fugi-  
tives, or repelled the incur-  
sions of the wild barbarians,  
who bordered upon the di-  
stant provinces.

[b] Nonne H. S. centies &  
octagies—quasi vasarii nomi-  
ne—ex æario tibi attribu-  
tum, Romæ in quæstu reli-  
quisti? in Pison. 35.

A. Urb. 702. ing from former impeachments, generally excited  
 Cic. 56. some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by  
 Coss. undertaking the cause of an injured Province,  
 SERV. SULPI- and dressing up an impeachment against their e-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLIUS.

BUT whatever benefit or glory this Govern-  
 ment seemed to offer, it had no charms for Cice-  
 ro: the thing itself was *disagreeable to his tem-  
 per* [c], nor worthy of those talents, which were  
 formed to fit at the helm, and shine in the ad-  
 ministration of the whole Republic: so that he con-  
 sidered it onely, as an honorable exil, or a bur-  
 then imposed by his country, to which his duty  
 obliged him to submit. His first care therefore  
 was to provide, that this command might not be  
 prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a  
 year; which was frequently done, when the ne-  
 cessities of the Province, the character of the  
 man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of o-  
 ther busines at home left the Senate neither leis-  
 ure nor inclination to think of changing the Go-  
 vernor: and this was the more likely to happen  
 at present, through the scarcity of Magistrates,  
 who were now left capable by the late law of suc-  
 ceding him. Before his departure therefore he  
 sollicited all his friends, not to suffer such a mor-  
 tification to fall upon him; and after he was gone,  
 scarce wrote a single letter to *Rome*, without  
 urging the same request in the most pressing terms:  
 in his first to Atticus, within three days from  
 their parting; *do not imagine*, says he, *that I*

[c] Totum negotium non moribus, &c. ad Att. 5. 10.  
 est dignum viribus nostris, Sed est incredibile, quam  
 qui majora onera in Rep. sus- me negotii todeat, non habet  
 tuere & possim & soleam, satis magnum campum ille  
 Ep. fam. 2. xi. tibi non ignotus cursus animi

*O rem minime aptam meis*

*mei.—ib. 15.*

*bene*

have any other consolation in this great trouble, than  
the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the  
year: many, who judge of me by others, do not take  
me to be in earnest, but you, who know me, will  
use all your diligence, especially, when the affair is  
to come on [d].

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS.  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

He left the City about the first of May, attended by his Brother and their two Sons: for Quintus had quitted his commission under Cæsar, in order to accompany him into Cilicia, in the same capacity of his Lieutenant. Atticus had desired him, before he left Italy, to admonish his Brother, to shew more complaisance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishnes and churlish carriage; and lest Cicero should forget it, he put him in mind again by a letter to him on the road, that since all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occasion of his going abroad, he would persuade Quintus to leave his wife at least in good humor at their parting: in relation to which, Cicero sends him the following account of what passed.

" When I arrived at Arpinum, and my Brother was come to me, our first and chief discourse was on you; which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the affair of your Sister, which you and I had talked over together at Tusculum: I never saw any thing so mild and moderate as my Brother was, without giving the least hint, of his ever having had any real

[d] Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse hujus ingentis molestie, nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle mali-

ti non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis; tum scilicet, cum id agi debet. ib. 2.

" cause

A. Urb. 702. " cause of offence from her. The next morn-  
 Cic. 56. " ing we left Arpinum; and that day being a  
 Coss. " festival, Quintus was obliged to spend it at Ar-  
 Serv. SULP-  
 CIUS RUFUS. " canum, where I dined with him, but went on  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 OREUS. " afterwards to Aquinum: You know this Villa  
 " of his: as soon as we came thither, Quintus  
 " said to his wife in the civillest terms; do you,  
 " Pomponia, invite the women, and I will send  
 " to the men: (nothing, as far as I saw, could  
 " be said more obligingly, either in his words or  
 " manner:) to which she replied, so as we all  
 " might hear it, *I am but a stranger here myself:*  
 " referring, I guess, to my Brother's having  
 " sent Statius before us to order the dinner: up-  
 " on which, see, says my Brother to me, what  
 " I am forced to bear every day. This, you  
 " will say, was no great matter. Yes, truly,  
 " great enough to give me much concern; to  
 " see her reply so absurdly and fiercely both in  
 " her words and looks: but I dissembled my un-  
 " easiness. When we sat down to dinner, she  
 " would not sit down with us: and when Quin-  
 " tus sent her several things from the table, she  
 " sent them all back: in short, nothing could be  
 " milder than my Brother, or ruder than your  
 " Sister: yet I omit many particulars, which gave  
 " more trouble to me than to Quintus himself.  
 " I went away to Aquinum; he staid at Arcanum:  
 " but when he came to me early the next morn-  
 " ing, he told me, that she refused to lie with  
 " him that night; and at their parting continued  
 " in the same humor, in which I had seen her.  
 " In a word, you may let her know from me,  
 " that, in my opinion, the fault was all on her  
 " side that day. I have been longer perhaps,  
 " than was necessary, in my narrative, to let you  
 " see,

" see, that there is occasion also on your part for advice and admonition [e]."

ONE cannot help observing from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances in the Roman story, that *the freedom of a divorce*, which was indulged without restraint at Rome, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial state; but on the contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverseness and obstinacy; since upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better success in another trial: for there never was an age or Country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity in the Great of both sexes, as at this time in Rome.

CICERO spent a few days, as he passed forward, at his *Cuman Villa*, near Baiae, where there was such a resort of Company to him, *that he bad*, he says, *a kind of a little Rome about him*: Hortenius came, among the rest, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage, and at taking leave, when he asked, *what commands he bad for him in his absence*, Cicero begged of him onely, to use all his authority, *to binder his Government from being prolonged to him* [f]. In sixteen days from Rome, he arrived at Tarentum, where he had

[e] Ad Att. 5. 1.

[f] In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortenius: cui, depositi mea mandata, cætera universæ mandavi; illud proprie,

ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam.—habuimus in Cumano quasi pufillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudine.—ib. 2.

promised

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

Coff.

SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. promised to make a visit to Pompey, who was  
 Cic. 56. taking the benefit of that soft air, for the re-  
 Coſſ.covery of his health, at one of his Villa's in thoſe  
 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, parts; and had invited and preſſed Cicero to  
 M. Clau- spend ſome days with him upon his journey: they pro-  
 dius Mar- posed great ſatisfaction on both ſides  
 cellus. from this interview, for the opportunity of con-  
 ferring together with all freedom, on the preſent  
 ſtate of the Republic, which was to be their ſub-  
 ject: though Cicero expected alſo to get ſome leſſons  
 of the military kind, from this renowned Com-  
 mander. He pro- mised Atticus an account of  
 this conference; but the particulars being too  
 delicate to be communicated by Letter, he ac-  
 quainted him onely in general, *that he found Pompey an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events, which could poſſibly be apprehended [g].*

AFTER three days ſtay with Pompey, he pro-  
 ceeded to Brundifium; where he was detained for  
 twelve days by a ſlight indisposition, and the expec-  
 tation of his principal officers, particularly of his  
*Lieutenant Pontinius*, an experienced Leader, the  
 fame who had triumphed over the *Allobroges*; and  
 on whose ſkill he chiefly depended in his martial  
 affairs. From Brundifium, he ſailed to Actium,  
 on the fifteenth of June; whence partly by ſea,

[g] Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγες de Repub. habuerimus ad te perſcribemus—ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv  
 Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium ſtaueram expectare, commo-  
 diffimum duxi dies eos—cum Pompeio conſumere: eoque magis, quod ei gratum eſſe id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit, ut ſecum & apud ſe eſſem quotidie: quod con-

ceſſi libenter multos enim e-  
 jus praeclaros de Repub. fer-  
 mones accipiam: inſtruar e-  
 tam confiliis idoneis ad hoc  
 noſtrum negotium.—ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduū cum Pompeio & apud Pompeium fuiffem, proficiscebar Brundiſium. — Civem illum e-  
 gregium relinquebam, & ad hæc, quæ timentur, propul-  
 ſanda paratiſſimum.—ib. 7.

and

and partly by land, he arrived at *Atbens* on the twenty-sixth [b]. Here he lodged in the house of Ariftus, the principal Professor of the Academy; and his Brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated Philosopher of Epicurus's School: they spent their time here very agreeably; at home, in Philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much delighted: there were several other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; especially Gallus Caninius; and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus [i].

THERE lived at this time in exile at Athens, C. Memmius, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go away to Mitylene. The figure, which he had born in Rome, gave him authority in Athens; and the council of *Areopagus* had granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where *Epicurus* formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of the *Epicureans*, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to Cicero at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for though Memmius had

[b] Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

[i] Valde me Athense delectarunt: urbe duxata, & urbis ornamentum, & hominum amores in te, & in nos quzedam benevolentia; sed

multum & Philosophia — si quid est, est in Aristo apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tuum — Quinto concesseram — ad Att. 5. x. Ep. fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

laid

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coll.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. laid aside his design of building, *the Areopagites*  
 Cic. 56. would not recall their decree without his leave [k].  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.. Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy : he laughs at the trifling zeal of these Philosophers, for the old rubbish and poultry ruins of their Founder, yet earnestly presses Memmius, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakness, not wickedness ; and though he professes an utter dislike of their philosophy, yet he recommends them, as honest, agreeable, friendly men, for whom he entertained the highest esteem [l]. From this letter one may observe, that the greatest difference in Philosophy made no difference of friendship among the great of these times. There was not a more declared enemy to Epicurus's doctrine, than Cicero : he thought it destructive of morality, and pernicious to Society ; but he charged this consequence to the principles, not the Professors of them ; with many of whom he held the strictest intimacy ; and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their Country : there is a jocose Letter to Trebatius, when he was with Cæsar in Gaul, upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to confirm this reflection.

## CICERO to TREBATIUS.

" I was wondering, why you had given over  
 " writing to me ; till Pansa informed me, that

[A] Visum est Xenoni, &  
 post, ipsi Patroni, me ad  
 Memmium scribere, qui pri-  
 die quam ego Athenas veni,  
 Mylenas prefectus erat,—  
 non enim dubitabat Xeno,  
 quin ab Areopagitis invito

Memmio impetrari non pos-  
 set. Memmius autem sedi-  
 ficandi confilium abjecisset,  
 sed erat Patroni iratus, ita-  
 que scripsi ad eum accurate—  
 ad Att. 5. 11.

[l] Ep. fam. 13. 1.

" you

" you were turned Epicurean. O rare Camp ! A. Urb. 702.  
 " what would you have done if I had sent you Cic. 56.  
 " to Tarentum, instead of Samerobriva? I began Coss.  
 " to think the worse of you, ever since you SERV. SULP.  
 " made my friend Seius, your pattern. But with CIUS RUFUS,  
 " what face will you now pretend to practise the M. CLAU.  
 " Law, when you are to do every thing for your DIUS MAR.  
 " own interest, and not for your Client's ? and CELLUS.  
 " what will become of that old form, and test of  
 " fidelity ; *as true men ought to act truly, with*  
 " *one another?* what Law would you alledge for  
 " the distribution of common right, when no-  
 " thing can be common with those, who mea-  
 " sure all things by their pleasure ? with what  
 " face can you swear by Jupiter ; when Jupiter,  
 " you know, can never be angry with any man ?  
 " and what will become of your people of Ulu-  
 " bræ ; since you do not allow a wise man to  
 " meddle with politics ? wherefore if you are  
 " really gone off from us, I am sorry for it ;  
 " but if it be convenient to pay this compliment  
 " to Pansa, I forgive you ; on condition howe-  
 " ver, that you write me word, what you are  
 " doing, and what you would have me do for  
 " you here [m]."

The change of principles in Trebatius, tho' equivalent in effect to a change of Religion with us, made no alteration in Cicero's affection for him. This was the dictate of reason to the best and wisest of the Heathens ; and may serve to expose the rashness of those zealots, who with the light of a most divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and persecuting their fellow Christians, for differences of opinion, which, for the most part, are merely speculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happiness of civil Society.

[=] Ep. Fam. 7. 12.

A. Urb. 732. AFTER ten days spent at Athens, where Pontinius at last joined him, Cicero set sail towards Asia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his friend Cælius with the task of sending him the news of Rome; which Cælius performed very punctually, in a series of Letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his *familiar Epistles*: they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy turn, and elegance of expression, which we always find in Cicero's. The first of them, with Cicero's answer, will give us a specimen of the rest.

### M. CÆLIUS to M. CICERO.

“ ACCORDING to my promise at parting, to  
 “ send you an account of all the news of the  
 “ Town, I have provided one to collect it for  
 “ you so punctually, that I am afraid, lest you  
 “ should think my diligence at last too minute:  
 “ but I know, how curious you are; and how  
 “ agreeable it is to all, who are abroad, to be  
 “ informed of every thing, that passes at home,  
 “ though ever so trifling. I beg of you however,  
 “ not to condemn me of arrogance, for deput-  
 “ ing another to this task: since, as busy as I  
 “ now am, and as lazy, as you know me to be  
 “ in writing, it would be the greatest pleasure to  
 “ me, to be employed in any thing, that revives  
 “ the remembrance of you: but the pacquet it-  
 “ self, which I have sent, will, I imagine, rea-  
 “ dily excuse me: for what leisure would it re-  
 “ quire, not only to transcribe, but to attend  
 “ even to the contents of it? there are all the de-  
 “ crees of the Senate, Edicts, plays, rumors:  
 “ if the sample does not please you, pray let me  
 “ know it, that I may not give you trouble, at

" my cost. If any thing important happens in A. Urb. 702:  
 " the Republic, above the reach of these hack- Cic. 56.  
 " ney writers, I will send you an account of it Coss.  
 " myself; in what manner it was transacted; cius RUPUS,  
 " what speculations are raised upon it; what ef- M. CLAU-  
 " fects apprehended: at present, there is no DIUS MAR-  
 " great expectation of any thing: as to those ru- CELLUS.  
 " mors, which were so warm at Cumæ, of af-  
 " sembling the Colonies beyond the Po, when I  
 " came to Rome, I heard not a syllable about  
 " them. Marcellus too, because he has not yet  
 " made any motion for a successor to the two  
 " Gauls, but puts it off, as he told me himself,  
 " to the first of June, has revived the same talk  
 " concerning him, which was stirring when we  
 " were at Rome together. If you saw Pompey,  
 " as you designed to do, pray send me word, in  
 " what temper you found him; what conversa-  
 " tion he had with you; what inclination he  
 " shewed: for he is apt to think one thing, and  
 " say another, yet has not wit enough, to con-  
 " ceal what he really means. As for Cæsar,  
 " there are many ugly reports about him; but  
 " propagated only in whispers: some say, that  
 " he has lost all his horse; which I take indeed  
 " to be true: others, that the seventh Legion  
 " has been beaten; and that he himself is be-  
 " sieged by the Belluvaci; and cut off from the  
 " rest of his army. There is nothing yet cer-  
 " tain; nor are these uncertain stories publicly  
 " talked of; but among the few, whom you  
 " know, told openly, by way of secrets: Do-  
 " mitius never mentions them, without clap-  
 " ping his hand to his mouth. On the twenty-  
 " first of May, the mob under the Rostra, sent  
 " about a report, (may it fall on their own heads)  
 " which was warmly propagated through the

A. Urb. 702. " Forum and the whole City, that you were  
 Cic. 56. " killed upon the road by Q. Pompeius : but I,  
 Cest. " who knew him to be then at *Bauli*, and in such  
 SERV. SULPI- " a starving condition, that I could not help pi-  
 CIUS RUFUS, " tying him, being forced to turn Pilot for his  
 M. CLAU- " bread, was not concerned about it ; and wish-  
 DIUS MAR- " ed onely, that, if any real dangers threatened  
 CELIUS. " you, we might be quit for this lie : your  
 " friend Plancus *Bursia* is at Ravenna ; where he  
 " has had a large donative from Cæsar ; but is  
 " not yet easiy, nor well provided. Your books  
 " on government are applauded by all people [n].

M. T. CICERO, Proconsal, to M. CÆLIUS.

" How ! was it this, think you, that I charged  
 " you with ; to fend me the matches of Gladi-  
 " tors ; the adjournments of causes ; and Chres-  
 " tus's news-letter ; and what nobody dares men-  
 " tion to me when at Rome ? see, how much I  
 " ascribe to you in my judgment : nor indeed  
 " without reason, for I have never yet met with  
 " a better head for politics ; I would not have  
 " you write, what passes every day in public,  
 " though ever so important, unless it happen to  
 " affect myself : others will write it ; many bring  
 " accounts of it ; and fame itself convey a great  
 " part to me : I expect from you, neither the  
 " past, nor the present ; but as from one, who  
 " sees a great way before him, the future onely ;  
 " that when I have before me in your Letters  
 " the plan of the Republic, I may be able to  
 " judge, what a sort of Edifice it will be. Nor  
 " have I hitherto indeed any cause to complain  
 " of you : for nothing has yet happened, which

[n] Epist. Fam. 8. 1.

" you

" you could foresee better than any of us ; espe- A. Urb. 702.  
 " cially myself, who spent several days with Cic. 56.  
 " Pompey, in conversing on nothing else, but Coff.  
 " the Republic ; which it is neither possible nor SERV. SULPI-  
 " proper for me to explain by Letter : take this CIUS RUFUS,  
 " onely from me ; that Pompey is an excellent M. CLAU-  
 " Citizen, prepared both with courage, and DIUS MAR-  
 " counsil for all events, which can be foreseen : CELLUS.  
 " wherefore, give yourself up to the man ; be-  
 " lieve me, he will embrace you ; for he now  
 " holds the same opinion with us, of good and  
 " bad Citizens. After I had been ten days at  
 " Athens where our friend Gallus Caninius was  
 " much with me, I left it on the sixth of July,  
 " when I sent away this Letter : as I earnestly  
 " recommend all my affairs to you, so nothing  
 " more particularly, than that the time of my  
 " Provincial Command be not prolonged : this  
 " is every thing to me ; which, when and how,  
 " and by whom it is to be managed, you will  
 " be the best able to contrive. Adieu [o].

He landed at *Ephesus* on the twenty-second of July, after a slow but safe passage of fifteen days ; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at several of the islands of the *Aegean Sea*, of which he sends a kind of journal to Atticus [p]. Many deputations from the Cities of Asia, and a great concourse of people came to meet him as far as Samos ; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at Ephesus : the Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts, to see a man so celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence ; so that all his boastings, as he merrily says, of many years

[o] Ep. fam. 2. 8.

d. xi. Kal. Sext.—ad Att. 53.

[p] Ephesum venimus a. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

A. Urb. 702. *past*, were now brought to the test [q]. After reposing himself for three days at Ephesus, he marched forward towards his Province; and on the last of July, arrived at Laodicea, one of the Capital Cities of his jurisdiction. From this moment the date of his Government commenced; which he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might know how to compute the precise extent of his annual term [r].

IT was Cicero's resolution, in this Provincial Command, to practise those admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and disagreeable to him to derive fresh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his administration, as a pattern of governing to all succeeding Proconsuls. It had always been the custom, when any Governors went abroad to their Provinces, *that the Countries, through which they passed, should defray all the charges of their journey*: but Cicero no sooner set his foot on foreign ground, *than he forbade all expence whatsoever, public or private, to be made either upon himself, or any of his company*; which raised a great admiration of him, *in all the cities of Greece* [s].

In

¶ [q] De concursu legationum, privatorum, & de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam sumi, sed mirabilem in modum Ephefi præstofuit, aut te audisse puto—  
ex quo se intelligere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas.—ib. 13.

[r] Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Ib. 15.

[s] Ego—quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut summa modestia & summa abstinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus.—ib. 9.

Adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil accipitur lege Julia, nihil ab hospite, persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc

In Asia, he did the same; not suffering his officers to accept, what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds; which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents; and by his example and constant exhortations brought his Lieutenants, Tribuns, and Praefects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor [*t*].

BEING desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the Season of action was over, he spent but little time in visiting the Cities of his jurisdiction, reserving the winter months for settling the civil affairs of the Province [*u*]. He went therefore to the Camp, at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August; where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus, King of Comagene, which was confirmed from the other Princes of those parts, that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory under the conduct of Pacorus, the

Hoc animadversum Græcum laude & multo sermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam summa cum admiracione fecimus. Ib. 11.

[*t*] Levantar miserae civitates, quod nullus fit sumpitus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæstorem, neque in quemquam. Scito, non modo nos scenum, aut quod lege Julia dari solet non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, & tecum, quemquam accipere

quidquam: multis locis nectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manere plerumque—ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius insumatur in quemquam; id sit etiam & Legatorum & Tribunorum & Praefectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξον gloriæ mee —ib. 17.

[*u*] Erat mihi in animo recta proficiendi ad exercitum, septuos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos iuridictioni—ib. 14.

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. *King's son.* Upon this news, he marched towards  
 Cic. 56. *Cilicia,* to secure his Province from the inroads  
 Coss. of the enemy, or any commotions within: but as  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS, all access to it was difficult, except on the side of  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS. Cappadocia, an open country, and not well pro-  
 vided; he took his route through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it, which bordered  
 upon Cilicia, near to the town of Cybistra, at the  
 foot of mount Taurus. His army, as it is said above,  
 consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and two  
 thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary  
 troops of the neighbouring states, and especially  
 of Deiotarus, King of Galatia, the most faithfull  
 Ally of Rome, and Cicero's particular friend;  
 whose whole forces he could depend upon at  
 any warning [x].

WHILE he lay in this Camp, he had an opportunity of executing a special commission, with which he was charged by the Senate; to take Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, under his particular protection; and provide for the security of his person and government: in honor of whom, the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign Prince, that his safety was of great concern to the Senate and people of

[x] In castra veni. a. d. vii. Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum lustravit. Ex his castris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexii in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit—

Regis Antiochi Comageni Legatis primi mihi nanciabant Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transfere coepisse.—Cum exercitum in

Ciliciam ducerem—mihi litteræ redditæ sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum Populi Rom. existimatur. Pacorum Orodi Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu transisse Euphratem, &c. Ep. fam. 15. i.

Eodem die ab Jamblichio, Phylacho Arabum — litteræ de eisdem rebus, &c.

Rome,

Rome. His Father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son: Cicero therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of the Decree of the Senate, and that in consequence of it he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority in any measures that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his Kingdom—The King, after great professions of his thanks and duty to the Senate for the honor of their decree, and to Cicero himself for his care in the execution of it, said, that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or Crown: upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him however, to remember his Father's fate, and, from the admonition of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person, and so they parted. But the next morning, the King returned early to the Camp, attended by his Brother and Counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection of Cicero, and the benefit of the Senate's decree; declaring, "that he had received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which those, who were privy to it, durst not venture to discover till Cicero's arrival in the Country, but trusting to his authority, had now given full information of it; and that his Brother, who was present and ready to confirm what he said, had been solicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown: he begged therefore, that some of Cicero's troops might be left with him for his better guard and defence. Cicero told him, that under the present alarm of the Parthian war, he could not possibly lend him any part of his ar-

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 55.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAV-  
DIUS MAR-  
CITUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. " my ; that since the conspiracy was detected,  
 Cic. 56. " his own forces would be sufficient for prevent-  
 Cato.  
 SERV. SULPI- " ing the effects of it ; that he should learn to  
 CIUS RUFUS, " act the King, by shewing a proper concern for  
 M. CLAU- " his own life, and exert his regal power in pu-  
 DIUS MAR- " nishing the authors of the plot, and pardoning  
 CÆLLUS, " all the rest ; that he need not apprehend any  
 " farther danger, when his people were acquaint-  
 " ed with the Senate's decree, and saw a *Roman*  
 " army so near to them, and ready to put it in  
 " execution :" and having thus encouraged and  
 comforted the King, he marched towards *Cilicia*,  
 and gave an account of this accident, and of the  
 motions of the *Parthians*, in two public Letters to  
 the Consuls and the Senate : he added a private  
 Letter also to Cato, who was a particular favorer,  
 and Patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he inform-  
 ed him, " that he had not only secured the King's  
 " person from any attempt, but had taken care,  
 " that he should reign for the future with honor  
 " and dignity, by restoring to his favor and ser-  
 " vice his old Counsellors, whom Cato had re-  
 " commended, and who had been disgraced, by  
 " the intrigues of his Court ; and by obliging a  
 " turbulent young priest of *Bellona*, who was  
 " the head of the Malecontents, and the next  
 " in power to the King himself, to quit the coun-  
 " try [y]."

THIS King, Ariobarzanes, seems to have been  
 poor even to a proverb :

*Mancipiis locuples, egit etris Cappadocum rex.*  
 Hor. Ep. I. 6.

for he had been miserably squeezed and drained  
 by the *Roman* Generals and Governors ; to whom

[y] Ep. fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

he

he owed vast summs, either actually borrowed, A. Urb. 702.  
or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It Cic. 56.  
was a common practice with the Great of Rome, Coff.  
*to lend money at an exorbitant interest, to the Princes* SERV. SULPI-  
*and Cities, dependent on the Empire;* which was CIUS RUFUS,  
thought an usefull piece of policy to both sides; M. CLAV-  
to the Princes, for the opportunity of engaging DIUS MAR-  
to their interests the most powerfull men of the CELLUS.  
Republic, by a kind of honorable pension; to the Romans; for the convenience of placing their  
money where it was sure to bring the greatest re-  
turn of profit. The ordinary interest of these  
Provincial loans was, *one per Cent. by the month,*  
*with interest upon interest:* this was the lowest;  
but in extraordinary or hazardous cases, it was  
frequently four times as much. Pompey received  
monthly from this very King, *above six thousand*  
*pounds sterlinc;* which yet was short of his full  
interest. Brutus also had lent him a very large  
summ, and earnestly desired Cicero to procure the  
payment of it, with the arrears of interest: but  
Pompey's agents were so pressing, and the King  
so needy, that though Cicero sollicited Brutus's af-  
fair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting  
any thing for him: when Ariobarzanes came  
therefore to offer him the same present of money,  
which he had usually made to every other Gover-  
nor, he generously refused it, and desired onely,  
*that instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to*  
*Brutus:* but the poor Prince was so distressed,  
that he excused himself, by the necessity, which  
he was under, of satisfying some other more pres-  
sing demands; so that Cicero gives a sad account  
of his negotiation, in a long letter to Atticus, who  
had warmly recommended Brutus's interests to  
him.

A. Urb. 702. " I come now, says he, to Brutus; whom by  
 Cic. 55. " your authority I embraced with inclination,  
 Conf. " and began even to love: but—what am I  
 SERV. SULPI- " going to say? I recall myself, left I offend  
 CIUS RUFUS, " you—do not think, that I ever entered in-  
 M. CLAU- " to any think more willingly, or took more  
 BIUS MAR- " pains, than in what he recommended to me.  
 CULLUS. " He gave me a memorial of the particulars,  
 " which you had talked over with me before:  
 " I pursued your instructions exactly: in the first  
 " place, I pressed Ariobarzanes, to give that mo-  
 " ney to Brutus, which he promised to me: as  
 " long as the King continued with me, all things  
 " looked well; but he was afterwards seized by  
 " six hundred of Pompey's agents; and Pompey,  
 " for other reasons, can do more with him than  
 " all the world besides; but especially, when it  
 " is imagined, that he is to be sent to the Par-  
 " thian war: they now pay Pompey thirty-three  
 " Attic talents per month, out of the taxes, though  
 " this falls short of a month's interest: but our  
 " friend Cneus takes it calmly; and is content  
 " to abate something of the interest, without  
 " pressing for the principal. As for others, he  
 " neither does, nor can pay any man: for he  
 " has no treasury, no revenues: he raises taxes  
 " by Appius's method of capitation: but these  
 " are scarce sufficient for Pompey's monthly pay;  
 " two or three of the King's friends are very  
 " rich; but they hold their own as closely, as  
 " either you or I—I do not forbear however to ask,  
 " urge and chide him by Letters: King Deiota-  
 " rus also told me, that he had sent people to  
 " him on purpose, to solicit for Brutus; but  
 " they brought him word back, that he had re-  
 " ally no money: which I take indeed to be the  
 " case; that nothing is more drained than his

“ kingdom ; nothing poorer than the King [z].” A. Urb. 702.  
 But Brutus had recommended another affair Cic. 55.  
 of the same nature to Cicero, which gave him  
 much more trouble. The city of Salamis in Cy-  
 prus owed to two of his friends, as he pretended,  
 Scaptius and Matinius, ‘above twenty thousand  
 pounds sterling upon bond, at a most extravagant  
 interest ; and he begged of Cicero to take their  
 persons and concerns under his special protection.  
 Appius, who was Brutus’s father-in-law, had  
 granted every thing which was asked to Scaptius ;  
*a Prefecture in Cyprus, with some troops of horse,*  
 with which he miserably harassed the poor Salo-  
 minians, in order to force them to comply with  
 his unreasonable demands ; for *be stout up their  
 whole senate in the council-room, till five of them  
 were starved to death with hunger* [a]. Brutus la-  
 bored to place him in the same degree of favor  
 with Cicero : but Cicero being informed of this  
 violence at Ephesus, *by a deputation from Salamis*,  
 made it the first act of his government to recall  
 the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scap-  
 tius’s Praefecture, having laid it down for a rule,  
 to grant no command to any man, *who was con-  
 cerned in trade, or negotiating money* in the Pro-  
 vince : to give satisfaction however to Brutus, he  
 enjoined *the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius’s bond*,  
 which they were ready to do according to the te-  
 nor of his edict, by which he had ordered, *that  
 no bonds in his province should carry above one per  
 Cent. by the month.* Scaptius refused to take the  
 money on those terms, insisting *on four per Cent.*,  
 as the condition of his bond expressed ; which by

[z] Ad Att. 6. 1.

custom in curia senatum Sal-

[a] Fuerat enim Praefectus  
Appio, & quidem habuerat  
tarmas Equitum, quibus in-mine obfederat, ut fame se-  
natores quinque morerentur.  
—ibid.

computation

SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS

A. Urb. 702. computation almost doubled the principal summ ;  
 Cic. 56. while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero,  
 Coss. could not have paid the original debt, if they  
 Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, had not been unable to do it by his help, and out of  
 M. Claudio Marcellus. his own dues, that he had remitted to them ; which  
 amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand [b].

THIS extortion raised Cicero's indignation ; and notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it ; though Brutus in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, *what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius only his agent in it* [c]. This surprised Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus—“ You have now, says he, in one of them, the ground of my conduct ; if Brutus does not approve it, I see no reason why we should love him ; but I am sure, it will be approved by his uncle, Cato [d]. In

[b] Itaque ego, quo die te-tigi provinciam, cum mihi Cypri Legati Ephesum obvi-  
 am venissent, litteras misi, ut equites ex insula statim dece-  
 derent—ad Att. 6. 1, conse-  
 ceram, ut solverent cente-si-  
 mis—ad Scaptius quaternas postulabat—ib. homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam dicere, se a me solvere. Quod enim Prætori dare consuef-  
 sent, quoniam ego non acce-  
 peram, se a me quodam mo-  
 do dare; atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scaptii no-

mine, quam in vestigali præ-  
 torio—ib. 5. 21.

[c] Atque hoc tempore ip-  
 so impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse : quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam—ib.

[d] Habet meam causam : que si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus : sed avunculo ejus certe probabi-  
 tur.—ib. 5. 21.

“ another ;

" another ; if Brutus thinks, that I ought to al-  
 " low him four per Cent., when by edict I have  
 " decreed but one through all the province, and  
 " that, to the satisfaction of the keenest usurers ;  
 " if he complains, that I denied a Praefecture to  
 " one, concerned in trade, which I denied, for  
 " that reason, to your friend Lenius, and to Sex.  
 " Statius, though Torquatus solicited for the  
 " one, and Pompey himself for the other, yet  
 " without disgusting either of them ; if he takes  
 " it ill, that I recalled the troops of horse out of  
 " Cyprus ; I shall be sorry indeed, that he has  
 " any occasion to be angry with me ; but much  
 " more, not to find him the man, that I took  
 " him to be—I would have you to know how-  
 " ever, that I have not forgot what you intimat-  
 " ed to me in several of your Letters, that if I  
 " brought back nothing else from the Province,  
 " but Brutus's friendship, that would be enough :  
 " let it be so, since you will have it so ; yet it  
 " must always be with this exception ; as far as  
 " it can be done, without my committing any  
 " wrong—[e]. In a third ; how, my dear  
 " Atticus ! you who applaud my integrity and  
 " good conduct, and are vexed sometimes, you

A. Urb. 702.  
 Cic. 56.  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULP-  
 CIUS RUFUS.  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

[e] Si Brutus putabit me irasci, sed multo majorem,  
 quaternas centesimas oportu-  
 isse decernere, qui in tota  
 provincia singulas observa-  
 rem, itaque edixissim, idque  
 etiam acerbissimis sceneratori-  
 bus probaretur ; si præfectu-  
 ram negotiatori denegatam  
 queretur, quod ego Torquato  
 nostro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio  
 ipsi in S. Statio negavi, & iis  
 probavi ; si equites deductos  
 moleste feret ; accipiam e-  
 quidem dolorem, mihi illum

non esse eum talem, quem  
 putassem—Sed plane te in-  
 telligere volui, mihi non ex-  
 cidiisse illud, quod tu ad me  
 quibusdam litteris scripisses,  
 si nihil aliud de hac Provin-  
 cia nisi illius benevolentiam  
 deportasssem, mihi id satis  
 esse. Sit fane, quoniam ita  
 tu vis sed tamen cum eo cre-  
 do, quod fine peccato meo fi-  
 at—ibid.

A. Urb. 702. " say, that you are not with me ; how can such  
 Cic. 55. " a thing, as Ennius says, come out of your  
 Coff.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

" mouth, to desire me to grant troops to Scap-  
 tius, for the sake of extorting money ? could  
 " you, if you were with me, suffer me to do it,  
 " if I would ? — if I really had done such a  
 " thing, with what face could I ever read again,  
 " or touch those books of mine, with which you  
 " are so much pleased [f] ?" He tells him like-  
 wise in confidence, that all Brutus's Letters to  
 him, even when he was asking favors, were un-  
 mannerly, *curulis*, and arrogant ; without regard-  
 ing either what, or to whom he was writing ; and  
 if he continued in that humor ; you may love him a-  
 lone, says he, if you please, you shall have no rival  
 of me ; but he will come, I believe, to a better  
 mind [g]. But to shew after all, what a real in-  
 clination he had to oblige him, he never left  
 urging King Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from  
 him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or  
 about twenty thousand pounds ; the same summ  
 probably, which had been destined to Cicerò him-  
 self [b].

## WHILE

[f] Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis & elegan-  
 tiae nostræ ? ausus es hoc ex  
 ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut e-  
 quites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare ?  
 an tu, si tecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum  
 quod non simul sis, paterere  
 me id facere, si vellem ? —  
 & ego audero legere unquam,  
 aut attingere eos libros, quos  
 tu dilaudas ? si tale quid fe-  
 cero ? — ad Att. 6. 2.

[g] Ad me etiam, cum ro-

gat aliquid, contumaciter, ar-  
 roganter, ~~deservitus~~ ; solet  
 scribere — ib. 6. 1.

Oranino (soli enim sumus)  
 nullus unquam ad me literas  
 misit Brutus — in quibus non  
 esset arrogans, ~~deservitus~~ ali-  
 quid — in quo tamen ille mihi  
 risum magis quam stomachum  
 movere solet. Sed plane  
 parum cogitat, quid scri-  
 bat, aut ad quem — ib. 6. 3.

[b] Bruti tui causa, ut se-  
 pe ad te scripsi, feci omnia  
 — Ariobarzanes non in Pom-  
 peum

WHILE he lay encamped in Cappadocia, ex- A. Urb. 702.  
pecting what way the Parthians would move, he Cic. 55.  
received an account, that they had taken a diffe- Cosf.  
rent route, and were advanced to Antioch in Sy- SERV. SULPI-  
ria, where they held C. Cassius blocked up; and CIUS RUFUS,  
that a detachment of them had actually penetrat- M. CLAU-  
ed into Cilicia, but were routed, and cut off by DIUS MAR-  
those troops, which were left to guard the Country. CELLUS.

Upon this he presently decamped, and by great journeys over mount Taurus, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of Amanus; a great and strong mountain, lying between Syria and Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being discouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Cassius an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Osaces, was mortally wounded [i].

IN the suspense of the *Parthian* war, which the late disgrace of Crassus had made terrible at Rome, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the neces-

peam prolixior per ipsum,  
quam per me in Brutum——  
pro ratione pecuniae liberius  
est Brutus tractatus, quam  
Pompeius. Bruto orata hoc  
anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio  
in sex mensibus promis-  
fa cc.——ibid.——

[i] Itaque confestim iter in  
Ciliciam feci per Tauri py-  
las. Tarsum veni a. d. 111.  
Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum  
contendi, qui Syriam a Cili-

cia in aquarum divertio divi-  
dit——rumore adventus nostri,  
& Cassio, qui Antiochia tene-  
batur, animus acerbit, & Par-  
this timor injectus est. Ita-  
que eos cedentes ab oppido  
Cassius infecutus rem bene  
gessit. Qua in fuga magna  
auctoritate Osaces, dux Par-  
thorum, vulnus accepit, so-  
que interiit paucis post diebus.  
Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. fity of acting the General, he seems to have wanted  
 Cic. 56. neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced Leader. In a Letter to Atticus, dated  
 Coff. SERV. SULPI- CIUS RUFUS, from his Camp ; " We are in great spirits, says  
 M. CLAU- " he, and as our counsils are good, have no  
 DIUS MAR- " distrust of an engagement : we are securely en-  
 CELLUS. " camped, with plenty of provisions, and in  
 " sight almost of Cilicia ; with a small army in-  
 " deed, but, as I have reason to believe, intire-  
 " ly well affected to me ; which I shall double  
 " by the accession of Deiotarus, who is upon the  
 " road to join me : I have the allies more firmly  
 " attached to me, than any Governor ever had :  
 " they are wonderfully taken with my easiness  
 " and abstinence : we are making new levies of  
 " Citizens, and establishing magazines : if there  
 " be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline  
 " it ; if not, shall defend ourselves by the  
 " strength of our posts : wherefore be of good  
 " heart, for I see as much as if you were with  
 " me, the sympathy of your love for me [k]."

But the danger of the Parthians being over for this season, Cicero resolved, that his labor should not be lost, and his army dismissed, without attempting something of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, close to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of Banditti or Freebooters, who had never submitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, trifling to their forts and castles, which were supposed to be impregnable from the strength of their situation. He thought it therefore of no small importance to the Empire, to reduce them to a state of subjection ; and in order to conceal his design, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces

on pretence of marching to the distant parts of Cilicia; but after a day's journey stopt short, and having refreshed his army and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached Amanus before day, on the thirteenth of October. He divided his troops among his four Lieutenants, and himself, accompanied by his Brother, led up one part of them, and so coming upon the natives by surprise, they easily killed or made them all prisoners: they took six strong forts, and burned many more; but the Capital of the mountain, Era-na, made a brave resistance, and held out from break of day, to four in the Afternoon. Upon this success, Cicero was saluted Emperor, and sat down again at the foot of the hills, where he spent five days, in demolishing the other strong holds, and wasting the lands of these Mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the same Camp, which Alexander the Great had formerly used, when he beat Darius at Issus; and where there remained three Altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day: a circumstance, which furnished matter for some pleasantry, in his Letters to his friends at Rome[1].

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

VOL. II.

O

FROM

[1] Qui mons erat hosti-  
um plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. d. 111. idus Octob.  
magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella muni-  
tissima, nocturno Pontinii ad-  
ventu, nostro matutino cepi-  
mus, incendimus. Impera-  
tores appellati sumus. Castra  
paucos dies habuimus, ea ip-  
sa, que contra Darium ha-  
beerat apud Isum Alexander,  
Imperator. haud paullo meli-

or, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi  
dies quinque morati, direpto  
& vastato Amano, inde dis-  
cessimus.—Ad Att. 5. 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad 111. Id.  
Octob. cum luciferet, in A-  
manum ascenderem, distribu-  
tisque cohortibus & auxiliis,  
cum aliis Quintus frater Le-  
gatus, mecum simul, aliis C.  
Pontinius Legatus, reliquis  
M. Anneius, & M. Tullius  
Legati

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

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part of the High-lands, the most disaffected to the Roman name, possessed by a stout and free people, who had never been subject even to the Kings of that Country. Their chief Town was called Pindenissum, situated on a steep and craggy hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing necessary for defence: it was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive the Parthians: Cicero, resolving therefore to chastise their insolence, and bring them under the Roman yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he pushed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a continual battery of his Engines, yet it cost him above six weeks, to reduce it to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The Inhabitants were sold for slaves, and when Cicero was writing the account from his Tribunal, he had already raised about a hundred thousand pounds by that sale: all the other plunder, excepting the borses, was given to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to Atticus, the Pindenissians, says he, surrendered to me on the Saturnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty days; but what, the plague, you will say, are these Pindenissians? I never heard of their name before.—How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into AE-

Legati præfissent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus—Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput—acriter & diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium

occisa, cepimus, castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quadratum: & in reliquis Amani delendis, agrisque vastandis—id tempus omne consumsumus—Ep. fam. 15. 4. vid. ibid. 2. 10.

*rotia or Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with such an army, &c [m].* After this action, another neighbouring nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tiburani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that Cicero sent his army into winter quarters under the command of his Brother, into those parts of the province, which were thought the most turbulent [n].

A. Urb. 732.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff  
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M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

WHILE he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Paetus, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious Letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered in the same jocose manner: "Your Letter, says he, has made me a complete commander: I was wholly ignorant before of your great skill in the art of war; but

[m] Confeditis his rebus ad Oppidum Eleutherocilicum, Pindenissum, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo & munitione loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne Rebus quidem unquam paruerent: cum & fugitivos recipierent, & Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam — vallo & fossa circumdidi, sex castellis, castrisque maximis septi, aggre, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, usque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo—septimo quadragesimo die rem confeci—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) isti Pindenissae? qui sunt? inquies: non men audivi, unquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Aetoliam, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse.—&c.—ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipa vénabant Saturday, tertiam, cum haec scriberem in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib.—

[n] His erant finitimi pari scelere & audacia Tiburani: ab his, Pindenissum capto, obfides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio præposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

A. Urb. 702. " perceive, that you have read Pyrrhus and Ci-  
 Cic. 56. " neas. Wherefore I intend to follow your pre-  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULPI- " cepts, and withal, to have some ships in rea-  
 CIUS RUFUS, " diness on the coast; for they deny, that there  
 M. CLAU- " can be any better defence against the Parthian  
 DIUS MAR- " horse. But raillery apart: you little think,  
 · CELLIUS. " what a General you have to deal with: for in  
 " this government, I have reduced to practice,  
 " what I had worn out before with reading, the  
 " whole institution of Cyrus, &c. [o]" These  
 martial exploits spread Cicero's fame into Syria, where Bibulus was just arrived to take upon him  
 the Command; but kept himself close within the  
 gates of Antioch, *till the Country was cleared of all the Particians*: his envy of Cicero's success, and  
 title of EMPEROR, made him impatient to pur-  
 chase the same honor by the same service, *on the Syrian side of the mountain Amanus*: but he had  
 the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt, with  
 the intire losf of *the first Cohort, and several officers of distinction*, which Cicero calls *an ugly blow both for the time and the effect of it* [p].

THOUGH Cicero had obtained what he calls *a just victory at Amanus*, and in consequence of it, *the appellation of Emperor*, which he assumed from this time; yet he sent no public account of it to Rome, *till after the affair of Pindennissum*, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected *the honor of a Thanksgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a Triumph. His public Letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a par-

[o] Ep. fam. 9. 25.

[p] Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano

cepit laureolam in mustaceo querere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit—lane plagam odiosam acceperat tum re tum tempore.—ad Att. 5. 20.

ticular narrative of the whole action in a private Letter to Cato: the design of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the *decree of the Supplication*; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shews the high opinion, which he had of Cato's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpose by compliments, or motives of friendship: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them: so that when Cicero's Letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honor and respect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his *civil and military administration*, yet he voted against the supplication; which was decreed however without any other dissenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a personal quarrel with Cicero: yet when the vote was over, *Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it*; which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favor it passed [q]. But Cato's answer to Cicero's Letter will shew the temper of the

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
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[q] Nunc publicè litteras  
Romam mittere parabam.  
Ueroiores erunt, quam si ex  
Amano misissim. Ibid.

Deinde de Triumpho, quem  
video, nisi Reipub. tempora  
impedient, s'wopis'or—ad Att.  
7. 1.

Ei porro offensus est unus,  
familiaris meus Favonius; al-

ter iratus Hirrus. Cato au-  
tem & scribendo affuit—ib.

Res ipsa declarat, tibi il-  
lum honorem supplicationis  
jucundum fuisse, quod scri-  
bendo affuisti. Haec enim  
Senatus consulta non ignora-  
ab amicissimis ejus, cuius de  
honore agitur, scribi solere.  
Ep. fam. 15. 6.

A. Urb. 702. man, and the grounds on which he acted on this  
Cic. 56. occasion.  
Coff.

SERV. SULPI-  
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M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

M. Cato to M. T. Cicero, Emperor.

" In compliance with what both the Republic and our private friendship require of me, I rejoice that your virtue, innocence, diligence, approved in the greatest affairs, exerts itself every where with equal vigor; at home in the gown, abroad in arms. I did all therefore, that I could do, agreeably to my own judgment, when in my vote and speech, I ascribed to your innocence and good conduct the defence of your province; the safety of the kingdom and person of Ariobarzanes; the recovery of the allies to their duty and affection to our Empire. I am glad, however, that a Supplication is decreed; if, where chance had no part, but the whole was owing to your consummate prudence and moderation, you are better pleased, that we should hold ourselves indebted to the Gods, than to you. But if you think that a Supplication will pave the way to a Triumph, and for that reason chuse, that fortune should have the praise, rather than yourself; yet a Triumph does not always follow a Supplication, and it is much more honorable than any Triumph, for the Senate to decree, that a Province is preserved to the Empire by the mildness and innocence of the General, rather than by the force of arms, and the favor of the Gods. This was the purpose of my vote; and I have now employed more words, than it is my custom to do, that you might perceive, what I chiefly wish to testify, how desirous I am to convince you, that in regard to your glory, I had a mind to do what

" I took

“ I took to be the most honorable for you ; yet A. Urb. 702.  
 “ rejoice to see that done, which you are the Cic. 56.  
 “ most pleased with. Adieu, and still love me ; Conf.  
 “ and agreeably to the course, which you have Serr. SULPI-  
 “ begun, continue your integrity and diligence CIUS RUFUS,  
 “ to the allies, and the Republic [r].” M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

CÆSAR was delighted to hear of Cato's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and Cicero ; and in a congratulatory Letter to Cicero, upon the success of his arms, and the Supplication decreed to him, took care to aggravate the rudeness and ingratitude of Cato [s]. Cicero himself was highly disgusted at it ; especially when Cato soon afterwards voted a supplication to his Son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much less to deserve it. Cato, says he, was shamefully malicious ; he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, clemency ; but denied me what I did—yet this same man voted a Supplication of twenty days to Bibulus : pardon me, if I cannot bear this usage—[t] yet as he had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther suit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a Triumph, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do [u].

CICERO's campaign ended just so, as Cælius had wished in one of his Letters to him ; with fighting enough, to give a claim to the laurel ; yet

[r] Ep. fam. 15. 5.

[s] Itaque Cæsar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratissimi injuria ; ad Att.

7. 2.

[t] Aveo scire—Cato quid agat : qui quidem in me tur-

piter fuit malevolus. Dedit integratatis, justitiae, clementiae, fidei testimonium, quod non quarebam, quod postulabam, negavit—at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignosce mihi, non possum hæc ferre—ibid.—

[u] Ep. fam. 15. 6.

A. Urb. 702. without the risk of a battel with the Partbians [x].  
 Cic. 56. During these months of action, he sent away the  
 Coff.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

two young Cicero's, the son and nephew, to King Deiotarus's court, under the conduct of the King's son, who came on purpose to invite them: they were kept strictly to their books and exercises, and made great proficiency in both; though the one of them, as Cicero says, wanted the bit, the other the spur: their Tutor Dionyfius attended them, a man of great learning and probity, but, as his young pupils complained, horribly passionate [y]. Deiotarus himself was setting forward to join Cicero with all his forces, upon the first news of the Partbian irruption: he had with him thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two thousand horse: but the Partbian alarm being over, Cicero sent Couriers to meet him on the road, in order to prevent his marching to no purpose, so far from his own dominion [z]: the old King however seems to have brought the children back a-

[x] Ut optasti, ita est; vel-  
 les enim, ait, tantummodo  
 ut haberem negotii quod ef-  
 fet ad laureolam satis. Par-  
 thos times, quia diffidis co-  
 plis nostris. Ep. fam. 2. 10.  
 8. 5.

[y] Cicerones nostros De-  
 iotarus filius, qui Rex a Se-  
 natu appellatus est, secum in  
 regnum. Dum in exercitis nos  
 essemus, illum pueris locum  
 esse bellissimum duximus. Ad  
 Am. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant in-  
 ter se, discunt, exercentur:  
 sed alter—frenis eget, alter  
 calcaribus—Dionyfius mihi  
 quidem in amoribus est. Pueri

autem ajunt eum furenter i-  
 rasci. Sed homo nec doc-  
 tor, nec sanctior fieri potest.  
 Ib. 6. 1.

[z] Mihi tamen cum De-  
 iotaro convenit, ut ille in  
 meis castris effet cum omni-  
 bus suis copiis, habet autem  
 cohortes quadringenarias no-  
 stra armatura triginta; equi-  
 tum duo millia—ib.

Deiotarum confessim jam  
 ad me venientem cum magno  
 & firmo equitatu & peditatu  
 & cum omnibus suis copiis,  
 certiore feci, non videri  
 esse causam cur abesset a reg-  
 no—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

gain

gain in person, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and spending some time with his friend; for by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview [a].

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.

SERV. SULPI-  
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M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

THE remaining part of Cicero's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the Province: where his whole care was, to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former Governors had involved them. He laid it down for the fixt rule of his administration, not to suffer *any money to be expended either upon himself or his officers*: and when one of his Lieutenants, L. Tullius, in passing through the country, exacted *only the forage and firing, which was due by law*; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village, through which they passed, he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, *as a stain upon his Government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing*. All the wealthier Cities of the Province, used to pay to all their Proconsuls *large contributions for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the army*: Cyprus alone paid yearly on this single account *two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds*: but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed Province: yet for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expensive monuments, as *Statues, Temples, brazen horses, &c.* which,

[a] Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

by

A. Urb. 702. by the flattery of Afia, used to be erected of  
 Cic. 56. course to all Governors, though ever so corrupt  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
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 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

and oppressive. While he was upon his visita-  
 tion of the Asiatic Districts, there happened to be  
 a kind of famine in the country; yet where-ever  
 he came, he not only provided for his family at  
 his own expence, but prevailed with the Mer-  
 chants and Dealers, who had any quantity of  
 corn in their store-houses, *to supply the people with*  
*it on easy terms [b]*; living himself, all the while,  
 splendidly, and hospitably, and keeping an open table,  
 not only for all the Roman officers, but the Gentry  
 of the Province [c]. In the following Letter to  
 Atticus, he gives him a summary view of his  
 manner of governing.

" I see, says he, that you are much pleased  
 " with my moderation and abstinence; but you  
 " would be much more so, if you were with me;  
 " especially at Laodicea; where I did wonders at

[b] Cave putes quicquam  
 homines magis unquam esse  
 miratos, quam nullum terun-  
 cium, me obtinente provin-  
 ciam, sumptus factum esse, nec  
 in Remp. nec in quemquam  
 meorum, præterquam in L.  
 Tullium, Legatum. Is cate-  
 roqui abstiens (sed Julia lege  
 transitans, semel tamen in  
 diem, non ut alii solebant  
 omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi  
 excipiens sit, cum teruncium  
 nego sumptus factum.  
 Præter eum accepit nemo.  
 Has fordes a. nostro Q. Titin-  
 nio accepimus—ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in  
 hiberna milites recipierent,  
 magnas pecunias dabant.  
 Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua-

ex insula (non ὁρμοῖς  
 sed verissime loquor) nummus  
 nullus me obtinente erogabitur.  
 Ob haec beneficia, qui-  
 bus obstupescunt, nullos ho-  
 nores mihi, nisi verborum,  
 decerni sumo. Status, fana,  
 τιθέντα, prohibeo—ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac  
 mea Afia, mihi optanda fue-  
 rit. Quacunque iter feci,  
 nulla vi,—auctoritate & co-  
 hortatione perfeci, ut & Grae-  
 ci & Cives Romani, qui fru-  
 mentum comprefirant, mag-  
 num numerum populis polli-  
 cerentur—ib.

[c] Ita vivam, ut maxi-  
 mos sumptus facio. Mirifice  
 delector hoc instituto. Ad  
 Att 5. 15.

“ the

“ the sessions, which I have just held, for the  
“ affairs of the Dioceſes, from the thirteenth of  
“ February to the first of May. Many cities are  
“ wholly freed from all their debts; many great-  
“ ly eased; and all, by being allowed to govern  
“ themselves by their own laws, have recovered  
“ new life. There are two ways, by which I  
“ have put them into a capacity of freeing, or  
“ of easing themselves at least of their debts;  
“ the one is by ſuffering no expence at all to be  
“ made on the account of my government.  
“ When I ſay none at all, I ſpeak not hyperbo-  
“ lically; there is not ſo much as a farthing: it  
“ is incredible to think, what relief they have  
“ found from this ſingle article. The other is,  
“ this; their own Greek Magistrates had strange-  
“ ly abused and plundered them. I examined  
“ every one of them, who had born any office  
“ for ten years paſt: they all plainly confessed;  
“ and, without the ignominy of a public con-  
“ viction, made reſtitution of the money, which  
“ they had pillaged: ſo that the people, who  
“ had paid nothing to our farmers for the preſent  
“ Luftrum, have now paid the arrears of the  
“ laſt, even without murmuring. This has  
“ placed me in high favor with the Publicans:  
“ a grateful ſet of men, you'll ſay: I have really  
“ found them ſuch—the rest of my jurisdiction  
“ ſhall be managed with the ſame addreſſs; and  
“ create the ſame admiration of my clemency  
“ and eaſineſſ. There is no diſſiculty of acceſſ  
“ to me, as there is to all other Provincial Go-  
“ vernors; no introduction by my Chamber-  
“ lain: I am always up before day, and walking  
“ in my Hall, with my doors open, as I used  
“ to do, when a Candidate at Rome: this is  
“ great and gracious here; though not at all  
“ troublous

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

Coff.

SERV. SULP-

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M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. "troublsom to me, from my old habit and  
 Cic. 56. "discipline—&c." [d]  
 Coss.

**SERV. SULPI-**  
**CIVS RUFUS,**  
**M. CLAV-**  
**DIUS MAR-**  
**CELLUS.** THIS method of governing gave no small umbrage to Appius; who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous Letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions : " And no wonder, says Cicero, that he is displeased with my manner, for what can be more unlike, than his administration and mine? under him the Province was drained by expences and exactions; under me, not a penny levied for public or private use: what shall I say of his Praefects, attendants, Lieutenants? of their plunders, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not a single family governed with such order, discipline, and modesty, as my Province. This some of Appius's friends interpret ridiculously; as if I was taking pains to exalt my own character, in order to depress his; and doing all this, not for the sake of my own credit, but of his disgrace [e]." But the truth was, that, from the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he had a sincere desire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the splendor of his birth, and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to Pompey's son, and another to Brutus [f]: so that,

[d] Ib. 6 2.

[e] Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile, quam illo imperante, exhaustam esse sumpitibus & jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, numquam nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publice, &c.  
 —ib. 6. 1.

[f] Ego Appium, ut tecum saepe locutus sum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligostatim coptum esse, ut simulatem deposuimus, sensi—jam me Pompeii totum esse scis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid est causæ, cur mihi non in optatis est complecti

that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greatest professions of honor and respect towards Appius, even when he found it necessary to rescind his decrees; considering himself only, he says, as a second Physician called in to a case of sickness, where he found it necessary to change the method of cure, and when the Patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines [g].

As soon as the Government of Cilicia was allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by Letter, begging of him, that, as no man could succeed to it with a more friendly disposition than himself, so Appius would deliver up the Province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another [b]: in answer to which, Appius, having intimated some desire of an interview, Cicero took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, as to make the place of their meeting the

plecti hominem, florentem  
estate, opibus, honoribus, in-  
genio, liberis, propinquis, af-  
ficiis, amicis.—Ep. fam.  
2. 13.

[g] Ut si Medicus, cum  
egrotos alii medico traditus  
sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui  
sibi succederit, si que ipse in  
curando constituerit mutet  
ille. Sic Appius, cum i<sup>e</sup> à  
Appio, provinciam curarit,  
sanguinem miseric, &c. ad

Att. 6. 1.

[b] Cum contra volunta-  
tem meam — accidisset, ut  
mihi cum imperio in Provin-  
ciam ire necesse esset—hæc  
una consolatio occurrebat,  
quod neque tibi amicior, quam  
ego sum, quisquam posset  
succedere, neque ego ab ullo  
provinciam accipere, qui mal-  
let eam mihi quam maxime  
aptam explicatamque tradere,  
&c. Ep. fam. 3. 2.

most

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. most agreeable to Appius's convenience: but Appius being disgusted by the first edicts which Cicero published, resolved for that reason to disappoint him; and as Cicero advanced into the Province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him at last so suddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given to go out and meet him; which Appius laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against Cicero's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him [i].

This provoked Cicero to expostulate with him, with great spirit—“ I was informed, says he, by one of my Apparitors, that you complained of me for not coming out to meet you; I despised you, it seems, so as nothing could be prouder—when your servant came to me near midnight, and told me, that you would be with me at *Iconium* before day, but could not say, by which road, when there were two; I sent out your friend Varro by the one, and Q. Lepta, the Commander of my Artillery, by the other, with instructions to each of them, to bring me timely notice of your approach, that I might come out in person to meet you. Lepta came running back presently in all hast to acquaint me, that you had already passed by the Camp; upon which I went directly to *Iconium*, where you know the rest. Did I then refuse to come out to you? to Appius Claudius; to an Emperor; then, according to ancient custom; and above all,

[i] —me libenter ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.—ib. 5.

Appius noster, cum me ad-  
ventare videt, profectus est  
Tarsum usque Laodiceam—ad  
Att. 5. 17.

“ to my friend? I, who of all men am apt to  
“ do more in that way than becomes my digni-  
“ ty? but enough of this. The same man told  
“ me likewise, that you said, What! Appius  
“ went out to meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Ap-  
“ pius; but Cicero would not come out to Ap-  
“ pius. Can you then be guilty of such imper-  
“ tinence? a man, in my judgement, of the  
“ greatest prudence, learning, experience; and  
“ I may add politeness too, which the Stoicks  
“ rightly judge to be a virtue? do you imagine,  
“ that your Appius's and Lentulus's are of more  
“ weight with me than the ornaments of virtue?  
“ before I had obtained those honors, which, in  
“ the opinion of the world, are thought to be  
“ the greatest, I never fondly admired those  
“ names of yours: I looked indeed upon those,  
“ who had left them to you, as great men; but  
“ after I had acquired, and born the highest  
“ Commands, so as to have nothing more to de-  
“ fine, either of honor or glory, I never indeed  
“ considered myself as your superior, but hoped,  
“ that I was become your equal: nor did Pomi-  
“ pey, whom I prefer to all men, who ever  
“ lived, nor Lentulus, whom I prefer to my-  
“ self, think otherwise: if you however are of  
“ a different opinion, it will do you no harm to  
“ read with some attention what Athenodorus  
“ says on this subject, that you may learn where-  
“ in true nobility consists. But to return to the  
“ point: I desire you to look upon me, not one-  
“ ly as your friend, but a most affectionate one:  
“ it shall be my care by all possible services to con-  
“ vincé you, that I am truly so: but if you have  
“ a mind to let people see, that you are less con-  
“ cerned for my interests, in my absence, than  
“ my

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 56.  
Conf.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. " my pains for yours deserved, I free you from  
 Cic. 56. " that trouble;  
 Coss.

SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

" For I have friends enough to serve and love  
 " Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.  
 Ib. i. 174-

" but if you are naturally querulous, you shall  
 " not still hinder my good offices and wishes for  
 " you: all that you will do, is to make me less  
 " solicitous how you take them. I have writ-  
 " ten this with more than my usual freedom,  
 " from the consciousness of my duty and affec-  
 " tion, which being contracted by choice and  
 " judgement, it will be in your power to preserve,  
 " as long as you think proper. Adieu [k]."

CICERO's Letters to Appius make one book of *bis familiar Epistles*, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the Subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints: in this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, *by divorce* [l], was married in her father's absence to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella: several parties had been offered to her, and among them Ti. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Augustus took away from him: *Nero made bis proposals to Cicero in Cilicia*, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the

[4] Ep. fam. 3. 7.

[l] What confirms this notion is, that Crassipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under Cicero's displeasure: who mentions

him as the only Senator, besides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his *Supplication*. Ad Att. 7. 1.

management of that affair; but before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, *being mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious address [m]*. He was a nobleman of Patrician descent, and of great parts and politeness; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæsar, and by a life of pleasure and expence, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which made Cicero very uneasy, when he came afterwards to know it [n]. Dolabella, at the time of this marriage, for which he made way also by the divorce of his first wife [o], gave a proof of his enterprising genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius, *of practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the Consulship*. This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to suspect, that he privately favored the impeachment, where the Accuser was his son-in-law: but in clearing himself of it to Appius, though he dissembled a little

[m] Ego dama in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus sacer—sed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui necum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romanam venerunt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obsequio & comitate adolescentis. — ad Att. 6. 6.

[n] Gener est suavis — quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; satis. Reliqua

que nosti ferenda. Ad Att.

7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea que speras Tulliae mea prudentia posse temperari, scio cui tuas epistole respondeant. Ep. fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis molestiis, quas libertate sua contraxerat, liberum—ib. 16.

[o] Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, & nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit—ib. 8. 6.

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.  
Coff.

SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. perhaps in disclaiming any part or knowledge of  
 Cic. 56.  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

that match, yet he was very sincere, in pro-  
 fessing himself an utter stranger to the impeach-  
 ment, and was in truth greatly disturbed at it.  
 But as from the circumstance of his succeding to  
 Appius in his Government, he was of all men  
 the most capable of serving or hurting him at the  
 trial, so Pompey, who took great pains to skreen  
 Appius, was extremely desirous to engage him  
 on their side, *and bad thoughts of sending one of  
 his sons to him for that purpose*: but Cicero saved  
 them that trouble, by declaring early and openly  
 for Appius, and promising every thing from the  
 Province that could possibly be of service to him;  
 which he thought himself obliged to do the  
 more forwardly, *to prevent any suspicion of trea-  
 chery to his friend, on the account of his new al-  
 liance [p]*: so that Appius, instead of declining  
 a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he  
 could; and with that view, having dropt his  
 pretensions to a Triumph, entered the City, and  
 offered himself to his Judges, before his Accuser  
 was prepared for him, and was acquitted without  
 any difficulty of both the indictments.

IN a little time after his trial he was chosen  
*Censor*, together with Piso, *Cæsar's father in law*,  
 the last who bore that office during the freedom  
 of the Republic. *Clodius's law*, mentioned a-

[A] Pompeius dicitur val-  
 de pro Appio laborare, ut e-  
 tiam patent alterutrum de fi-  
 liis ad te missurum. Ibid.—

Post hoc negotium autem  
 & temeritatem nostri Dolab-  
 bellæ deprecatorem me pro  
 illius periculo præbeo——ib.

2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate

nunciata, non majore equi-  
 dem studio, sed acrius, aper-  
 tius, significantius dignitateam  
 tuam defendissem—nam ut  
 vetus nostra similitas antea  
 stimulabat me, ut caverem  
 ne cui suspicionem sicut re-  
 conciliare gratis darem: sic  
 affinitas novam curam afferat  
 cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.  
 bove,

bove, which had greatly restrained the power of A. Urb. 702.  
 these Magistrates, was repealed the last year by Cic. 56.  
 Scipio, the Consul, and their ancient authority Coss.  
 restored to them [q], which was now exercised SERV. SULPI-  
 with great rigor by Appius: who though really CIUS RUFUS,  
 a libertin, and remarkable for indulging himself M. CLAU-  
 in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of DIUS MAR-  
 severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and CELLUS.

Celius gives a pleasant account of him to Cicero;

" Do you know, says he, that the Censor Ap-  
 " pius is doing wonders amongst us, about sta-  
 " tues and pictures, the number of our acres,  
 " and the payment of debts? he takes the Cen-  
 " sorship for soap or nitre, and thinks to scour  
 " himself clean with it; but he is mistaken; for  
 " while he is laboring to wash out his stains, he  
 " opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us  
 " see him the more intimately: run away to us  
 " by all the Gods, to laugh at these things:  
 " Drusus fits Judge upon Adultery, by the  
 " Scantinian law: Appius on statues and pic-  
 " tures [r]." But this vain and unseasonable  
 attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good,  
 served onely to alienate people from Pompey's  
 cause, with whom Appius was strictly allied:  
 whilst his colleague Piso, who foresaw that ef-  
 fect, chose to fit still, and suffer him to disgrace

[q] Dio, p. 147.

[r] Scis Appium Censo-  
 rem hic ostenta facere? de  
 signis & tabulis, de agri mo-  
 do, & ære alieno acerrime a-  
 gere? persuasum est ei, Cen-  
 suram somentum aut nitrum  
 esse. Errare mihi videtur.Nam sordes cluere vult, ve-  
 nas fibi omnes & viscera a-  
 perit. Corre per Deos, &  
 quam primum haec risum ve-  
 ni. Legis Scantiniae judi-  
 cium apud Drusum fieri. Ap-  
 pius de tabulis & signis a-  
 gere.—Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. *the Knights and Senators at pleasure*, which he did  
 Cic. 56. with great freedom, and among others, turned  
 Coss.  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS,  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS.

Sallust, *the Historian*, out of the Senate, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon Curio, which added still more friends and strength to Cæsar [s].

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between Cæsar and Pompey, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On Pompey's, there was a great majority of the Senate and the Magistrates, with the better sort of all ranks : on Cæsar's, all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punishment, or deserved it ; the greatest part of the youth, and the City mob ; some of the popular Tribuns, and all who were oppressed with debts ; who had a Leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cause. This is Cicero's account ; and Cælius's is much the same : I see, says he, that Pompey will have the Senate, and all who judge of things ; Cæsar, all who live in fear and uneasiness ; but there is no comparison between their armies [t]. Cæsar had put an end to the Gallic war, and reduced the whole Province to the Roman yoke : but

[t] Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

[t] Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque negotium esse : omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem ; Tribunos valentes — omnes, qui ære alieno premantur —

causam solam illa causa non habet, ceteris rebus abundat — ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, qui-  
 que res judicant, secum ha-  
 biturum : ad Cæsarem om-  
 nes, qui cum timore aut ma-  
 la spe vivant ad Cæsarem ac-  
 cessuros. Exercitum confe-  
 rendum non esse. Ep. fam.  
 8. 14.

though his commission was near expiring, he A. Urb. 702.  
 seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and Cic. 56.  
 returning to the condition of a private subject: he Coff.  
 pretended, that he could not possibly be safe, if he SERV. SULPI-  
 parted with his army, especially, while Pompey CIUS RUFUS,  
 held the Province of Spain, prolonged to him for M. CLAU-  
 five years [u]. The Senate, in the mean while, DIUS MAR-  
 in order to make him easy, had consented to let CELLUS.  
 him take the Consulship, without coming to sue for it  
 in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the  
 Consul, M. Marcellus, one of his fiercest en-  
 emies, moved them to abrogate his Command di-  
 rectly, and appoint him a successor; and since the  
 war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his  
 troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the  
 Consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the City to  
 his Colonies beyond the Po: this related particu-  
 larly to a favorite Colony, which Cæsar, when Con-  
 sul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps,  
 with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Va-  
 tinian law [x]. All the other Colonies on that  
 side of the Po had before obtained from Pom-  
 pey's father the rights of Latium, that is, the free-  
 dom of Rome to those, who had born an annual  
 Magistracy in them: but M. Marcellus, out of a  
 singular enmity to Cæsar, would allow no such  
 right to his Colony of Comum; and having caught  
 a certain Comensian Magistrate, who was acting  
 the Citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized,  
 and publicly whipt; an indignity, from which all  
 Citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man  
 go and shew those marks of his Citizenship to Cæ-

[u] Cæsari autem perfa-  
 sum est, se salvum esse non  
 posse, si ab exercitu recesse-  
 rit. Fert illam tamen con-

ditionem, ut ambo exercitus  
 tradant. Ibid.

[x] Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 28.  
 Strabo, l. 5. 326.

A. Urb. 702. *sar* [y]. Cicero condemns this act as violent and  
 Cic. 56. unjust; Marcellus, says he, *behaved shamefully in*  
*Coll.* *the case of the Comenian: for if the man had never*  
 SERV. SULPI-  
 CIUS RUFUS, *been a Magistrate, he was yet of a Colony beyond*  
 M. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS. *the Po, so that Pompey will not be less shock'd at it*  
*than Cæsar himself* [z].

THE other Consul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and over-ruled the motions of his Colleague, by the help of some of the Tribuns: nor was Pompey himself disposed to proceed so violently, or to break with Cæsar on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his Command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his Country, if he should resolve to act against the Senate and the laws. This counsil prevailed after many warm contestations, in which the summer was chiefly spent, and a decree was offered on the last of September, " That the Consuls elect, L. Paullus and C. Marcellus should move the Senate on the first of March, to settle the Consular Provinces; and if any Magistrate should interpose, to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually interposed, that this vote and resolution should be entered into the Journals, to be considered some other time by the senate, and laid also before the people." But four of the Tribuns gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vi-

[y] Appian. 2. 443.

[z] Marcellus fœde de Co-  
 mœni: et si ille Magistratum  
 non gesserit, erat tamen trans-

padanus. Ita mihi videtur  
 non minus stomachi nostro,  
 ac Cæsari movisse. Ad Att.  
 5. 11.

bias

bius Panſa. In the course of these debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation in whatever he said of Cæſar, was teized and urged on all fides to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about Cæſar's Government, before the first of March, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, "What, if any one should then put a negative upon them, be said, there was no difference whether Cæſar refused to obey the decrees of the Senate, or provided men to obstruct them: What, says another, if he should infiſt on being Conſul, and holding his Province too? What, replied Pompey, if my ſon ſhould take a ſtick and cudgel me [a]?" intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious also as the other.

CICERO's friend Cælius obtained the Aedileſhip this Summer from his Competitor Hirrus, the ſame who had opposed Cicero in the Augurate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to many jokes between them in their Letters [b]. In this Magiftracy, it being cuſtomary to procure wild beasts of all kinds from diſferent parts of the Empire for the entertainment of the City, Cælius begged of Cicero to ſupply him with Panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites, a people of his Province famed for hunting, to catch them: for it would be a reſlection upon you, ſays he, when Curio had ten Panthers from that Country, not to

[a] Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil intereffe, utrum C. Cæſar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non eſſet, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid ſi, in-

quit aliis, & Consul eſſe & exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer. Quid si filius meus fulſem mihi impingere volet? Ep. fam. 8. 8.

[b] Ep. fam. 2, 9, 10. it. 8, 2, 3, 9.

A. Urb. 702.  
Cic. 55.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

A. Urb. 702. *let me have many more.* He recommends to him  
 Cic. 56. at the same time M. Feridius, a Roman Knight,  
 Coss. who had an Estate in Cilicia, charged with some  
 SERV. SULPI- services or quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities,  
 CIUS RUFUS, which he begs of him *to get discharged, so as to*  
 M. CLAU- *make the lands free [c]:* he seems also to have de-  
 DIUS MAR- sired Cicero's consent to his levying certain con-  
 CELLUS. tributions upon the Cities of his Province, *tow-*  
*wards defraying the expence of his shews at Rome;* a  
 prerogative, which the Ædiles always claimed,  
 and sometimes practised; though it was denied  
 to them by some Governors, and particularly by  
 Quintus Cicero in Asia, upon the advice of his  
 Brother [d]: in answer to all which, Cicero re-  
 plied, “that he was sorry to find that his actions  
 “ were so much in the dark, that it was not yet  
 “ known at Rome that not a farthing had been  
 “ exacted in his Province, except for the pay-  
 “ ment of just debts: that it was neither fit for  
 “ him to extort money, nor for Cælius to take  
 “ it, if it were designed for himself; and admo-  
 “ nished him, who had undertaken the part of  
 “ accusing others, to live himself with more cau-  
 “ tion—and as to Panthers, that it was not con-  
 “ sistent with his character to impose the charge  
 “ of hunting them upon the poor people [e].”

[a] Pere litteris omnibus  
 tibi de Pantheris scripsi. Tur-  
 pe tibi erit, Patiscum Curio-  
 ni decem Pantheras misisse,  
 te non multis partibus plures,  
 &c. Ep. fam. 8, 9.

M. Feridium—tibi com-  
 mendo. Agros quos fructu-  
 arios habent civitates, vult  
 tuo beneficio, quod tibi faci-  
 le & honestum factu est, im-  
 munis esse—ib,

[f] Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1.  
 §. 9.

[g] Rescripsi, me moleste  
 ferre, si ego in tenebris late-  
 rem, nec audiretur Romæ,  
 nullum in mea provincia num-  
 sum nisi in ~~as~~ alienum ero-  
 gari; docuique nec mihi con-  
 ciliare pecuniam licere, nec  
 illi capere; monuique eum,  
 &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

But

But though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide Panthers for him at his own expence, and says pleasantly upon it, *that the Beasts made a sad complaint against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his Province for any other Creature but themselves [f]*:

A. Urb. 702;  
Cic. 56.  
Coff.  
SERV. SULPI-  
CIUS RUFUS,  
M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS.

CURIO likewise obtained the Tribune this Summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæsar, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness [g]. But Cicero, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, “ to consider “ into what a dangerous crisis his Tribune had “ fallen, not by chance, but his own choice ; “ what violence of the times, what variety of “ dangers hung over the Republic, how uncer- “ tain the events of things were, how changea- “ ble mens minds, how much treachery and “ falsehood in human life—he begs of him there- “ fore to beware of entering into any new coun- “ fils, but to pursue and defend, what he him- “ self thought right, and not suffer himself to be “ drawn away by the advice of others”—referring without doubt to M. Antony, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth : in the conclusion, he conjures him, to “ employ his present

[f] De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur man- dato meo diligenter : sed mi- ra paucitas est : & eas, quæ sunt, valde aiunt queri quod nihil cuiquam infidiarum in mea provicia nisi sibi sit.

—Ep. fam. 2. 11.

[g] Sed ut spero & volo, & ut se fert ipse Curio, bo- nos & senatum malet. To- tus ut nunc est, hoc scaturit, —ib. 8. 4.

“ power

" power to hinder his Provincial trouble from  
 " being prolonged by any new act of the Se-  
 " nate"—[b] Cicero's suspicions were soon con-  
 firmed by Letters from Rome; whence Cælius  
 sent him word of Curio's changing sides, and de-  
 claring himself for Cæsar: in answer to which,  
 Cicero says, *the last page of your Letter in your  
 own hand really touched me. What do you say? is  
 Curio turned advocate for Cæsar? who would have  
 thought it besides myself? for let me die, if I did  
 not expect it! Good Gods, how much do I long to be  
 laughing with you at Rome [i]?*

A. Urb. 703.

Cic. 57.

Coll.

L. ÆMILIUS

PAULLUS,

C. CLAUDIOUS  
MARCELLUS.

THE new Consuls being Cicero's particular friends, he wrote congratulatory Letters to them both upon their election, in which he begged *the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his supplication*; and what he had more at heart, *that they would not suffer any prolongation of his annual term*; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks also by letter for that favor [k]. It was expected, that something decisive would now be done in relation to *the Two Gauls*, and the appointment of a successor to Cæsar, since both the Consuls were supposed to be his enemies: but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated by the intrigues of Cæsar; for when C. Marcellus began to renew the same motion, which his kinsman had made the year before, he was obstructed by his Collegue Paullus, and the Tribun Curio, whom Cæsar had privately gained by immense bribes, *to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during their Magistracy [l]*. He is said to have

[b] Ep. fam. 2. 7.

[i] Extrema pagella pu-  
 pigit me tuo chirographo.  
 Quid ait? Cæsarem nunc de-  
 fendit Curio? quis hoc puta-

ret præter me? nam ita vi-  
 vam, putavi—ib. 13.

[k] Ep. fam. 15. 7, 10,  
 11, 12, 13.

[l] Sueton. J. Cæs. 29.  
 given

given Paullus about three hundred thousand pounds, and to Curio much more [m]. The first wanted it to defray the charges of those splendid buildings, which he had undertaken to raise at his own cost: the second, to clear himself of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million [n]: for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually in a few years, that he had no other revenue left, as Pliny says, but in the hopes of a civil war [o]. These facts are mentioned by all the Roman writers;

A. Urb. 703.  
Cic. 57.  
Coff.  
L. EMILIIUS  
PAULLUS,  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS.

*Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,  
Gallorum captus spoliis & Cæsar's auro—*

Lucan. 4. 819.

*Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and Cæsar's gold,  
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold.*

and Servius applies that passage of Virgil, *Vendi-  
dit hic auro patriam*, to the case of Curio's selling Rome to Cæsar.

CICERO in the mean time was expecting with impatience the expiration of his annual term, but before he could quit the Province, he was obliged to see the account of all the money, which had passed through his own or his officer's hands, stated and balanced; and three fair copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal Cities of his Jurisdiction, and a third in the Treasury at Rome. That his whole administration therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himself of this duty, and would not indulge his officers in the use of any

[m] Appian. I. ii. p. 443. buerit, præter discordiam

[n] Sexcenties Sestertium principum. Plin. Hist. I. 36.  
seris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1. 15.

[o] Qui nihil in censu ha-

- A. Urb. 703. *public money beyond the legal time, or above the summ prescribed by law, as appears from his Coff.*
- L. *ÆMILIUS PAULLUS,* Letters to some of them who desired it [p]. Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the use of the Province, *be remitted to the Treasury all that be had not expended to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds.*
- " This, says he, makes my whole company groan; they imagined, that it should have been divided among themselves, as if I ought to have been a better manager for the treasuries of Phrygia and Cilicia, than for our own. But they did not move me; for my own honour weighed with me the most: yet I have not been wanting to do every thing in my power that is honorable and generous to them all [q]."

His last concern was, to what hands he should commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the case of Cæsar, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other

[p] Laodiceæ me praedes accepturam arbitror omnis publice pecuniae—nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare, &c. Ep. fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem, & Apamæensem, quæ nobis maxime videbantur—rationes perfectas & consolidatas deponeremus, &c. ib. 3. 20.

[q] Cum enim rectum & gloriosum putarem ex anno

sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset. Me C. Cælio Questori relinquere annum, referre in ærarium ad H. S. c. 15. ingenuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi aportere: ut ego amicior inventer Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiserim ad Att. 7. 1.

business.

busines. He had no opinion of his Quæstor, A. Urb. 703? C. Cælius, a young man of noble birth, but of Cic. 57. no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid, af-  
ter his glorious administration, that by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had no body about him of *superior rank*, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, lest that might give a handle to *suspect bim of some interest or partiality in the choice [r].* He dropt the Province therefore, after some deliberation, into Cælius's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy.

But before he quitted Asia, he begged of Atticus by Letter to send him a particular detail of all the news of the City—“ There are odious re-  
“ ports, says he, about Curio and Paullus; not  
“ that I see any danger, while Pompey stands,  
“ or I may say indeed, while he sits, if he has  
“ but his health; but in truth, I am sorry for  
“ my friends Curio and Paullus. If you are now  
“ therefore at Rome, or as soon as you come  
“ thither, I would have you send me a plan of  
“ the whole Republic, which may meet me on  
“ the road, that I may form myself upon it, and  
“ resolve what temper to assume on my coming  
“ to the City: for it is some advantage not to  
“ come thither a mere stranger [s].” We see  
what

[r] Ego de provincia de-  
cedens Quæstorem Cælium  
præposui provinciæ. Puerum?  
inquires. At Quæstorum; at  
nobilem adolescentem; at  
omnium fere exemplo. Ne-  
que erat superiore honore u-  
sus, quem præficerem. Pon-  
tinianus multo ante discesserat.

A Quinto fratre impetrari  
non poterat: quem tamen fi-  
reliquissim, dicerent iniqui,  
non me plane post annum, ut  
Senatus voluisse, de provin-  
cia deceffisse, quoniam alteram  
me reliquissim. Ep. fam. 2.  
15. vid. it. ad Att. 6. 5, 6.

[s] Huc odiosa affereban-  
tur

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULLUS,  
C. CLAUDIOΣ  
MARCELLUS,

A. Urb. 703. what a confidence he placed in Pompey, on  
 Cic. 57. whom indeed their whole prospect either of peace  
 Coff. with Caesar, or of success against him, depended:  
 L. ÄMILIU<sup>S</sup>  
 PAULLU<sup>S</sup>  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
 MARCELLU<sup>S</sup>. as to the intimation about his health, it is expressed more strongly in another Letter; *All our hopes, says he, hang upon the life of one man, who is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of sickness [t].* His constitution seems to have been peculiarly subject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the present situation of affairs, gave great apprehension to all his party: in one of those fevers, which threatened his life for many days successively, *all the Towns of Italy put up public prayers for his safety;* an honor, which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free [u].

UPON taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a visit to Rhodes, *for the sake, he says, of the children [x].* His design was to give them a view of that flourishing Isle, and a little exercise perhaps in that celebrated School of eloquence, where he himself had studied with so much success under Molo. Here he received *the news of Hortensius's death [y],* which greatly affected him,

tur de Curione, de Paullo: non quo ultum periculum videam stante Pompeio, vel etiam fedente, valeat modo. Sed in hercule Curionis & Paulli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. si jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, que mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere possum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

[t] In unius hominis, quotannis periculose agrotantis, anima, positas omnes nostræ

spes habemus——ibid. 8. 2.

[u] Quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute ejus, primo omnium civium, suscepit——Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

[x] Rhodum volo paucrum causa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

[y] Cum e Cilicia decadens Rhodum venisset, & eo malihi de Q. Hortensii morte esset allatum; opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem——Brut. iait.

by recalling to his mind the many glorious strug- A. Urb. 703.  
gles, that they had sustained together at the Bar, Cic. 57.  
in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Coff.  
Hortensius reigned absolute in the Forum, when L. ÆMILIUS  
Cicer first entered it; and as his superior fame PAULLUS  
was the chief spur to Cicero's industry, so the C. CLAUDIO  
shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, MARCELLUS  
made Hortensius likewise the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young Rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation of each other's merit: but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by obtaining the highest, *began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease and luxury*, to which his nature strongly inclined him [z], till he was forced at last by the general voice of the City to yield the post of honor to Cicero; who never lost sight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleasure from his steady course and laborious pursuit of virtue. Hortensius published several orations, which were extant long after his death; and it were much to be wished, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgement of the different talents of these two great men: but they are said to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought to have more of art than was necessary to an Orator, so that his compositions were not admired so much by the

[z] Nam is post Consulatum — summum illud suum studium remisit, quo a puerō fuerat incensus; atque in omniū rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

A. Urb. 703. Reader, as they had been by the Hearer [a] ; while  
 Cic. 57. Cicero's more valued productions made all others  
 Coss. of that kind less sought for, and consequently  
 L. ÆMILIUS the less carefully preserved. Hortensius however  
 PAULLUS,  
 C. CLAUDIOUS was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by  
 MARCELLUS. Cicero himself, to have possessed every accom-  
 plishment, which could adorn an Orator ; *elegance of style* ; *art of composition* ; *fertility of invention* ; *sweetness of elocution* ; *gracefulness of action* [b]. These two Rivals lived however always with great civility and respect towards each other, and were usually in the same way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic ; till Cicero, in the case of his exil, discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius : yet his resentment carried him no farther than to some free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his busines to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach ; so that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his Country, in being deprived of the service and authority of *so experienced a statesman* at so critical a conjuncture [c].

## FROM

[a] Motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat Oratori satis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius. Orator. p. 261.

Eius scripta tantum intra famam sunt, qui diu princeps Oratorum—exstimator est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus ; ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo dicente, quod le-

gentes non invenimus — Quint. xi. 3.

[b] Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus : — nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in causa — vox canora & suavis — Brut. 425.

[c] Nam & amico amissi cum consuetudine jucunda,

FROM Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus, whence he set sail on the first of October, and after a tedious passage landed at Athens on the fourteenth [d]. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the house of his friend Aristus. His Predecessor, Appius, who passed also through Athens on his return, had ordered a new Portico or Vestibule to be built at his cost to the Temple of the Eleusinian Ceres; which suggested a thought likewise to Cicero of adding some ornament of the same kind to the Academy, as a public monument of his name, as well as of his affection for the place: for he bated, he says, *those false inscriptions of other people's statues* [e], with which the Greeks used to flatter their new Masters, by effacing the old titles, and inscribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his design, and desired his opinion upon it: but in all probability, it was never executed, since his stay at Athens was now very short, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for as all his Letters confirmed to him *the certainty of a war*, in which he must necessarily bear a part, so he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the state of affairs, and take

tum multorum officiorum  
conjunctione me privatum vi-  
debam—augebat etiam mo-  
lestiam, quod magna sapien-  
tium civium bonorumque pe-  
nuria, vir egregius, conjunc-  
tissimusque mecum confilio-  
rum omnium societate alien-  
issimo Reipub. tempore ex-  
tinctus—Brut. init.

[d] Prid. Id. Octob. Ath-  
enas venimus, cum sane ad-

VOL. II.

Q

his

A. Urb. 703.

Cic. 57.

Cost.

L. ÆMILII

PAULLUS

C. CLAUDIO

MARCELLUS.

veris ventis usi essemus—

Ep. fam. 14. 5.

[e] Audio Appium περιών  
αυτος, Eleusine facere. Num  
inepti fuerimus, si nos quo-  
que Academiæ fecerimus?  
—equidem valde ipsas A-  
thenas amo. Volo esse ali-  
quod monumentum. Odi fal-  
sas inscriptiones alienarum  
Statuarum. Sed ut tibi pla-  
cebit.—Ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 703. his measures with the greater deliberation [f].  
 Cic. 57. Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and  
 Coff. that he should be able to make up the quarrel be-  
 L. ÆMILIUS between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best  
 PAULLUS. qualified to effect it, on account not onely of his  
 C. CLAUDIOUS authority, but of his intimate friendship with  
 MARCELLUS them both; who severally paid great court to him  
*at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own,*  
*and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a*  
*determined friend [g].*

IN his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at Patrae to the care of friends and a Physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those, who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmitting to posterity the precious collection of Cicero's Letters, of which a great part still remain, and one intire book of them written to Tiro himself; several of which relate to the subject of *this very illness*. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every

[f] Cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris—ad armam spectare. Ut mihi cum venero, dissimulare non licet, quid sentiam. Sed quum subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. — Ep. fam.

14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest, sive ad bonorum vigoriam, utriusque rei me aut adjutorem esse velim, aut certe non expertem.

—Ad Att. 7. 3.

[g] Ipsum tamen Pompeium separationem ad concordiam hortabor. Ib.

Me autem uterque numerat suum. Nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quae de Repub. nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi litteras ejusmodi—ut neuter quamquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

kind

kind of usefull and polite learning, and being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairst both civil and domestic.

" As for Tiro, says he to Atticus, I see you have a concern for him: though he is wonderfully usefull to me, when he is well, in every kind both of my busines and studies, yet I wish his health more, for his own humanness and modesty, than for any service which I reap from him [b]."

But his Letter to Tiro himself will best shew what an affectionate master he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health: the first of these Letters will give us a notion of the rest.

A. Urb. 703.  
Cic. 57.  
Coff.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULLUS,  
C. CLAUDIO'S  
MARCELLUS.

## M. T. Cicero to Tiro.

" I thought that I should have been able to bear the want of you more easily; but in truth I cannot bear it: and though it is of great importance to my expected honor, to be at Rome as soon as possible, yet I seem to have committed a sin when I left you. But since you were utterly against proceeding in the voyage till your health was confirmed, I approved your resolution; nor do I now think otherwise, if you continue in the same mind. But after you have begun to take meat again, if you think

[b] De Tironne video tibi etiis esse. Quem quidem cogo, & si mirabiles utilitates mihi praebet, cum valer, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum metunt, tanten propter humanitatem & modestiam malo salvum, quam propter usum meum. Ad Att.

7.5.

Q 2

" that

A. Urb. 703. " that you shall be able to overtake me, that is  
 Cic. 57. " left to your consideration. I have sent Mario  
 Coll. " to you with instructions, either to come with  
 L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, " you to me as soon as you can, or if you should  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. " stay longer, to return instantly without you.  
 " Assure yourself however of this, that, as far  
 " as it can be convenient to your health, I wish  
 " nothing more than to have you with me ; but  
 " if it be necessary for the perfecting your recov-  
 " ery, to stay a while longer at Patræ ; that I  
 " wish nothing more than to have you well. If  
 " you sail immediately, you will overtake me at  
 " Leucas : but if you stay to establish your health,  
 " take care to have good company, good wea-  
 " ther, and a good vessel. Observe this one  
 " thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither  
 " Mario's coming, nor this Letter hurry you.  
 " By doing what is most conducive to your health,  
 " you will do what is most agreeable to me : weigh  
 " all these things by your own discretion. I want  
 " you ; yet so as to love you ; my love makes  
 " me wish to see you well ; my want of you,  
 " to see you as soon as possible : the first is the  
 " better ; take care therefore, above all things,  
 " to get well again : of all your innumerable ser-  
 " vices to me, that will be the most acceptable  
 " —— the third of November [i]."

By the honor, that he mentions in the Letter, he means *the honor of a Triumph*, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his success at Amanus and Pindenissum : in writing upon it to Atticus, he says, " consider what you would ad-  
 " vice me with regard to a Triumph to which  
 " my friends invite me : for my part, if Bibulus,  
 " who, while there was a Parthian in Syria," ne-

" ver set a foot out of the gates of Antioch, A. Urb. 703.  
 " any more than he did upon a certain occasion Cic. 57.  
 " out of his own house, had not sollicited a Coff.  
 " Triumph, I should have been quiet; but now L. ÆMILIUS  
 " it is a shame to sit still [k]." Again, "as to a PAULLUS,  
 " Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bi- C. CLAUDIUS  
 " bulus's most impudent Letters, by which he MARCELLUS.  
 " obtained an honorable supplication. If he had  
 " really done all that he has written, I should  
 " rejoice at it, and wish well to his suit; but for  
 " him, who never stirred beyond the walls,  
 " while there was an enemy on this side the Eu-  
 " phrates, to have such an honor decreed; and  
 " for me, whose army inspired all their hopes  
 " and spirits into his, not to obtain the same,  
 " will be a disgrace to us; I say to us; joining  
 " you to myself: wherefore I am determined to  
 " push at all, and hope to obtain all [l]."

AFTER the contemptible account, which Cicero gives of Bibulus's conduct in Syria, it must appear strange to see him honored with a supplication, and aspiring even to a Triumph: but this was not for any thing that he himself had done, but for what his Lieutenant Cassius had performed in his absence against the Parthians; the success of the Lieutenants being ascribed always to the auspices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it: and as the Parthians were

[i] Ad Att. 6. 8.

[i] De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras, quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta sunt, que scripsit, gauderem & honori favarem. Nunc illum, qui pedem portat, quoad loctis cis Euphra-

tem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cuius exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non assequi, decus est nostrum; nostrum, inquam, te conjugens. Itaque omnia experiar, &c, ut spero, assequar.—Ad Att. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 703. the most dangerous enemies of the Republic, and  
 Cic. 57. the more particularly dreaded at this time for their  
 Coss.  
 L. ÆMILIIUS PAULLUS, C. CLAUDIOUS MARCELLUS, late defeat of Crassus, so any advantage gained against them was sure to be well received at Rome, and repaid with all the honors that could reasonably be demanded.

WHENEVER any Proconsul returned from his Province with pretensions to a *Triumph*, his *Fasces*, or *Ensigns of Magistracy*, were wreathed with laurel: with this equipage Cicero landed at Brundisium on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the same moment to meet him, so that their first salutation was in the great square of the City. From Brundisium he marched forward by slow stages towards Rome, making it his business on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him; and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side, nor that he was irresolute which of them to chuse, for he was determined within himself to follow Pompey; but the difficulty was, how to act in the mean time towards Cæsar, so as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared against him, for abrogating his command, and obliging him to disband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy: here he wished to stand neuter awhile, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect [m].

IN

[m] Brundisium venimus vii Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero,

In this disposition he had an interview with A. Urb. 703;  
 Pompey on *the tenth of December*, of which he Cic. 57.  
 gives the following account: " We were toge- Coss.  
 ther, says he, about two hours. He seemed L. ÆMILIUS.  
 to be extremely pleased at my return; he ex- PAULLUS,  
 horted me to demand a Triumph; promised C. CLAUDIOUS  
 to do his part in it; advised me not to appear MARCELLUS.  
 in the Senate, before I had obtained it, left I  
 should disgust any of the Tribuns by declaring  
 my mind: in a word, nothing could be more  
 obliging than his whole discourse on this sub-  
 ject. But as to public affairs, he talked in  
 such a strain, as if a war was inevitable, with-  
 out giving the least hopes of an accommoda-  
 tion. He said, that he had long perceived  
 Cæsar to be alienated from him, but had re-  
 ceived a very late instance of it; for that  
 Hirtius came from Cæsar a few days before,  
 and did not come to see him; and when Bal-  
 bus promised to bring Scipio an account of  
 his business the next morning before day,  
 Hirtius was gone back again to Cæsar in the  
 night: this he takes for a clear proof of Cæ-  
 sar's resolution to break with him. In short,  
 I have no other comfort but in imagining,  
 that he, to whom even his enemies have  
 voted a second Consulship, and Fortune given  
 the greatest power, will not be so mad as to  
 put all this to hazard: yet if he begins to

vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisi-  
 nam venit, quo ego in por-  
 tum, mihiique obvia in Foro  
 fuit. *Ibid.*

Miki ~~onāgo~~ unum erit,  
 quod a Pompeio gubernabi-  
 tur — dic M. Tulli *Ciclopea*.

Cn. Pompeo assentio—ib. 3.

Nunc incido in discrimin  
 ipsum,—dabunt operam, ut  
 eliciant sententiam meam —  
 tu autem de nostro statu co-  
 gitabis: primum quo artifi-  
 cio tueamur benevolentiam  
 Cæsaris — ib. 1.

- A. Urb. 703. "rush on, I see many more things to be apprehended than I dare venture to commit to writing: at present I propose to be at Rome on the third of January [n]."
- Cic. 57. "hended than I dare venture to commit to writing: at present I propose to be at Rome on the third of January [n]."
- L. **ÆMILIUS PAULLUS,**
- C. **CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.**

THERE is one little circumstance frequently touched in Cicero's Letters, which gave him a particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz. *bis owing a summ of money to Cæsar*, which he imagined might draw some reproach upon him, since he thought it *dishonorable and indecent*, he says, *to be a debtor to one, against whom we were acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money, which be bad reserved for bis Triumphb [o].* He desires Atticus however very earnestly to see it paid, which was done without doubt accordingly, since we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it easy to guess, for what occasion this debt was contracted, unless it was to supply the extraordinary expence of his buildings after his return from exil, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general dissipation of his fortunes.

POMPEY, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a second conference with him before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends in the senate: he overtook him therefore at Lavernium, and came on

[n] Ad Att. 7. 4.

[o] Illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse te putabo, de Cæsaris romine rogare, ut confessum relinquas. Ib. §. 6.

Mihī autem molestissimum

est, quod solvendi sunt numeri Cæsari, & instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἀμορφος, αὐτικόλητος καὶ οὐκέτι εστι. — Ib. 7. 8.

with

with him to Formiae, where they spent a whole afternoon in a close conversation. Pompey strongly discouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, "that there could be none but what was treacherous and dangerous; and that if Cæsar should disband his army, and take the Consulship, he would throw the Republic into confusion: but he was of opinion, that when he understood their preparations against him, he would drop the Consulship, and hold fast his army: but if he was mad enough to come forward and act offensively, he held him in utter contempt from a confidence in his own troops, and those of the Republic. They had got with them the copy of a speech, which Antony, one of the new Tribuns, made to the people four days before: it was a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct from his first appearance in public, with great complaints against the violent and arbitrary condemnation of Citizens, and the terror of his arms. After reading it over together, what think you, says Pompey, would Cæsar himself do, if in possession of the Republic, when thisaultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæstor, dares to talk at this rate? on the whole, Pompey seemed not only not to desire, but even to dread a peace [p]."

CICERO however would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommodation; the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he perceived the necessity of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves: many of them dissatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and

denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries ; he clearly foresaw, what he declared without scruple to his friends, " that which side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in a Tyranny ; the onely difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they should be proscribed, if their friends, be slaves." Though he had an abhorrence therefore of Cæsar's cause, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, " and prefer the most unjust conditions to the just est war : since after they had been arming him against themselves for ten years past, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too strong for them [q]."

A. Urb. 704. THIS was the summ of his thoughts and counsile, when he arrived at Rome on the fourth of Januarij ; where he found the two new Consuls intirely devoted to Pompey's interests. On his approach towards the City great multitudes came out to meet him with all possible demonstrations of honor : his last stage was from Pompey's villa near Alba, because his own at Tusculem lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry : on his arrival, as he says, he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in

[q] De Repub. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, contentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romane, quos Senatores vidi, qui acer- rime tum cetera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus est, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Ty- rannus existet. — Ib. 7. 3.

Ut si vicitus eris, prosciri- bare ; si viceris, tamen fer-

vias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non de- fino, que vel injusta utilior est, quam justissimum bellum. — Ib. 7. 14.

Malleam tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam va- lenti refiseret. Ib. 7. 3.

Nisi forte haec illi tum ar- ma deditus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

effect

effect proclaimed [r] : for the Senate, at Scipio's motion, had just voted a decree, " that Cæsar should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy ; and when M. Antony and Q. Cassius, two of the Tribuns, opposed their negative to it," as they had done to every decree proposed against Cæsar, and could not be persuaded by the intreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the Senate, they proceeded to that vote, which was the last resort in cases of extremity, " that the Consuls, Praetors, Tribuns, and all who were about the city with Proconsular power, should take care that the Republic received no detriment." As this was supposed to arm the Magistrates with an absolute power, to treat all men as they pleased, whom they judged to be enemies, so the Two Tribuns, together with Curio, immediately withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in disguise to Cæsar's camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their persons, though none was yet offered or designed to them [s].

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the Grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator, who lost his life in the massacres of Marius and Cinna : his Fa-

[r] Ego ad urbem accessi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil posset fieri ornatus. Sed incidi in ipsam statimam civilis discordia vel potius belli — Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tusculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium est rōtā exarīsā, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

[s] Antonius quidem noster & Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Cæsarem cum Curione profecti erant; postea quam senatus Consulibus, Praetoribus, Tribunis plebis & nobis, qui Proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid Resp. detrimenti caperet — Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

ther,

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI  
US LENTU  
LUS CRUSA

A. Urb. 704. ther, as it is already related, had been honored  
 Cic. 58.  
 Coss. with one of the most important commissions of  
 the Republic ; but after an inglorious discharge  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELIUS LENTUS,  
 L. CORNELIUS LENTUS LENTUS CAEUS. of it, died with the character of a corrupt, op-  
 pressive, and rapacious Commander. The Son,  
 trained in the discipline of such a Parent, whom  
 he lost when he was very young, launched out  
 at once into all the excesses of riot and debauche-  
 ry, and *wasted his whole patrimony before he had  
 put on the manly gown* ; shewing himself to be the  
 genuin Son of that Father, who was born, as  
 Sallust says, *to squander money, without ever em-  
 ploying a thought on business, till a present necessity  
 urged him*. His comely person, lively wit, in-  
 finuating address, made young Curio infinitely  
 fond of him ; so that, in spight of the com-  
 mands of a severe Father, who had often turned  
 Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his  
 house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake  
 his company ; but supplied him with money for  
 his frolics and amours, till he had involved him-  
 self on his account in a debt of *fifty thousand  
 pounds*. This greatly afflicted old Curio ; and  
 Cicero was called in to heal the distress of the fami-  
 ly, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his  
 eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for  
 himself, and not suffer them to be parted : but  
 Cicero having prevailed with the Father to make  
 his son easy, by discharging his debts, advised  
 him to insist upon it as a condition, and to en-  
 force it by his paternal power, that he should  
 have no farther commerce with Antony [t].  
 This

[t] Tenesne memoria Præ-  
 textatum te decoxisse ? — domini potestate, quam tu in  
 nemo unquam puer emptus Curionis. Quoties te pater  
 libidinis causa tam fuit in ejus domo suo ejecit ? —  
 scisne me de rebus mihi no-  
 tissimis

This laid the foundation of an early aversion in Antony to Cicero, increased still by the perpetual course of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies : for, by the second marriage of his mother, he became *son in law to that Lentulus*, who was put to death for conspiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traitorous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of this father, he attached himself to Clodius, and during his *Tribunate*, was one of the ministers of all his violences ; yet was detected at the same time in some *criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious to the honor of his Patron [u]. From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under Gabinius, the most profligate of all Generals ; who gave him *the command of his borse in Syria*, where he signalized his courage in *the restoration of King Ptolemy*, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against *the laws and religion of his Country* [x]. From *Egypt*, instead of

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI  
US LENTU  
LUS CRUS.

tissimis dicere ? recordare tempus illud, cum Pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto ; filius se ad pedes meos prostremens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem suum, si H.S. sexages peteret defendarem : tantum enim se pro te intercessisse : ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod defiderium tui discidii ferre non posset — quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissime familie sedavi vel potius sustu-

li : patri persuasi, ut zæs alienum filii dissolveret, &c. — [Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniae genitus, vacuisque curis, nisi instantibus. Sallust. Histor. Fragm. 1. iii.

[u] Te domi P. Lentuli educatum — [Phil. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in Tribunatu Clodio — ejus omnium incendiiorum fax — cuius etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est, &c. ib. 19.

[x] Inde iter Alexandriam,

A. Urb. 704. of coming home, where his debts would not suffer  
 Cic. 5<sup>8</sup>. him to be easy, he went to Cæsar into Gaul, the  
 Coff. sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, the audacious: and after some stay in that Pro-  
 L. CORNELI- vince, being furnished with money and credit by  
 US LENTU- Cæsar, he returned to Rome to sue for the Quæ-  
 ZUS CRUZ. storship [y]. Cæsar recommended him in a  
 pressing manner to Cicero, "entreating him to  
 " accept Antony's submission, and pardon him  
 " for what was past, and to assist him in his  
 " present suit: with which Cicero readily com-  
 " plied," and obliged Antony so highly by it,  
 that he declared war presently against Clodius,  
 whom he attacked with great fierceness in the  
 Forum, and would certainly have killed, if  
 he had not found means to hide himself un-  
 der some stairs." Antony openly gave out,  
 that he owed all this to Cicero's generosity, to  
 whom he could never make amends for for-  
 mer injuries, but by the destruction of his e-  
 nemy Clodius [z]." Being chosen Quæstor,  
 he went back immediately to Cæsar, without ex-  
 pecting *his let, or a decree of the Senate*, to ap-  
 point him his Province: where, though he had  
 all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money,  
 yet by squandering, as fast as he got it, he came

am, contra fœnates audaci-  
 tatem, contra Rempub. &  
 religiones: sed habebat du-  
 cem Gabinium, &c. ib.

[y] Pris in ultimam Gal-  
 liam ex Egypto quam do-  
 num — venisti o Gallia ad  
 Quæsturam petendam. — ib.  
 — vid. Plutar. in Anton.

[z] Aceperam jas. ante  
 Cæsaris litteras, ut mihi fa-  
 tisfieri pateret a te — postea

custodites sum a te, tu a me  
 obtrivatos in petitione Quæ-  
 stur., quo quidem tempore  
 P. Clodium — in foros con-  
 casses occidere — ita perdiditbas,  
 te non existimare, nisi illum  
 interfecisses, usquam: mihi  
 pro tuo in me injuria fatis  
 esse factum — ib. 20.

Cum se ille fugiens in foro  
 larum tenebras abdidiisset, sec-  
 pro Mil. 15.

a second

a second time *empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the Tribune*; in which office, after the example of his friend Curio, having sold himself to Cæsar, he was, as Cicero says, *as much the cause of the ensuing war, as Helen was of that of Troy* [a].

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.

C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI-  
US LENTU-  
LUS CRUS.

It is certain at least, that Antony's flight gave the immediate pretext to it, as Cicero had foretold: "Cæsar, says he, will betake himself to arms, either for our want of preparation, or if no regard be had to him at the election of Consuls; but especially, if any Tribun, obstructing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting the people to sedition, should happen to be censured or over-ruled, or taken off, or expelled, or pretending to be expelled, run a way to him"—[b]" in the same Letter he gives a short, but true state of the merit of his cause: "What, says he, can be more impudent? You have held your government ten years, not granted to you by the Senate, but extorted by violence and faction: the full term is expired, not of the law, but of your licentious will: but allow it to be a law; it is now decreed, that you must have a successor: you refuse, and say, have some regard to me: do you first shew your regard to us: will you

[a] Deinde sine senatus consulta, sine forte, sine lege ad Cæsarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequit esse, perditis vite rationibus perfugium esse ducebas—advolasti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magistratu, si posset, viri tui familiis esses — ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic Reipub.

causa belli, &c.—Phil. 2. 21, 22.

[b] Aut addita causa, si forte Tribunus pleb. senatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut senatus consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatius aut expulsus sit, dicens se expulsum ad se conseruit — ad Att. 7. 9.

A. Urb. 704. " pretend to keep an army longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the will of the Senate [c] ?" but *Cæsar's strength lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops [d]*; a considerable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of Italy, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: *the flight of the Tribuns* gave him a plausible handle to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but " his real motive, says Plutarch, was the same that animated Cyrus and Alexander before him to disturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was not possible, till Pompey was first destroyed [e]."  
Laying hold therefore of the occasion, he presently passed the Rubicon, which was *the boundary of his Province* on that side of Italy, and marching forward in an hostile manner, possessed himself without resistance of the next great Towns in his way, Ariminum, Pifaurum, Ancona, Arretium, &c. [f].

In this confused and disordered state of the City, Cicero's friends were soliciting *the decree of his Triumph*, to which the whole Senate signified their ready consent: but " the Consul Lentulus, to make the favor more particularly his

[c] Ibid. it.. Ep. fam. 16.  
11.

[d] Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

[e] Plutar. in Anton.

[f] An ille id faciat,

quod paullo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliae, educeret? — Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæsar amenia quadam raperetur, & — Ariminum, Pifaurum, Ancona, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus — Ep. fam. 16. 12.

" own,

" own, desired that it might be deferred for a while, till the public affairs were better settled, giving his word, that he would then be the mover of it himself [g]." But Cæsar's sudden march towards Rome put an end to all further thoughts of it, and struck the Senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the City, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal Senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops, and all materials of defence against Cæsar. Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the Sea coast from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace [b]; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong Garrison, he resigned his Employment, and chose not to act at all [i].

Vol. II.

R

CAPUA

[g] Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit Triumphum: sed Lentulus Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de Repub. dixit se relaturum. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

[b] Ego negotio præsum non turbulentio; vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Campana & maritima ora habeat in oratione, ad quem delectus & summa negotii referatur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego adhuc omnes maritimes

præsum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere voleui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

[i] Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non solum ignavissim delectus, sed etiam perfidissim suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui—ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIO

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNELI-

US LENTU-

LUS CAUS.

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNELI-

US LENTU-

LUS: CRUS.

CAPUA had always been the common seminary or place of educating Gladiators for the great men of Rome; where Cæsar had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the best masters for the occasions of his public shews in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favor of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the Republic; so that Pompey thought it necessary to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, *assigning two to each master of a family*, by which he secured them from doing any mischief [t].

WHILE the Pompeian party was under no small dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief Commanders on the other side, *deserted Cæsar*, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation, that

citu non posse — Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As Cicero, when Proconsul of Cilicia, often mentions the *Dioceses* that were annexed to his government, [Ep. Fam. 13. 67.] so in this command of Capua he calls himself the *Episcopus* of the Campanian coast: which shews, that these names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Christian Church to characters and

powers Ecclesiastical, carried with them in their original use, the notion of a real authority and jurisdiction.

[t] Gladiatores Cæsaris, qui Capuae sunt — sane com mode Pompeius distribuit, binos singulis patribus familiatum. Scutorum in ludo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur — sane multum in eo Reip. provisum est. Ad Att. 7. 14.

many

many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently distinguished himself in the Gallic war, where next to Cæsar himself, he had born the principal part; and by Cæsar's favor, had raised an immense fortune: so that he was much caressed, and carried about every-where by Pompey, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counsils: but his account of things, like that of all desertors, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing *the weakness of Cæsar's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt;* the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any service to Pompey [1].

But what gave a much better prospect to all honest men was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar;

[1] Maximam autem plагam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, & nobiscum est: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur atulisse nobis Labieaus — ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum secum habet

(Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæsaris copiarum: cuius adventu Cæsus noster multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. Ib. 8. 2.

— fortis in armis  
Cæsaris Labienus erat: nunc  
transfuga vilius —

Lucan. 5. 345.

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI  
US LENTU  
LUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. who while he was pushing on the war with in-  
 Cic. 58. credible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and  
 Coss. endeavoured particularly to persuade Cicero,  
**C. CLAUDIO**  
**MARCELLUS,** “ that he had no other view than to secure him-  
**L. CORNELI-** “ self from the insults of his enemies, and yield  
**US LENTU-** “ the first rank in the state to Pompey [m].”  
**LUS CRAS.** The conditions were, “ that Pompey should go  
 “ to his Government of Spain, that his new le-  
 “ vies should be dismissed, and his garrisons  
 “ withdrawn, and that Cæsar should deliver up  
 “ his Provinces, the farther Gaul to Domitius,  
 “ the hither to Confidius, and sue for the Con-  
 “ fulship in person, without requiring the privi-  
 “ lege of absence.” These terms were readily  
 embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at  
 Capua, and young L. Cæsar, who brought them,  
 was sent back with letters from Pompey, and the  
 addition onely of one preliminary article, “ that  
 “ Cæsar in the mean while should recall his  
 “ troops from the Towns, which he had seized  
 “ beyond his own Jurisdiction, so that the Senate  
 “ might return to Rome, and settle the whole  
 “ affair with honor and freedom [n].” Cicero  
 was present at this council, of which he gave an  
 account to Atticus; “ I came to Capua, *says he*,  
 “ yesterday, the twenty-sixth of January, where

[m] Balbus major ad me  
 scribit, nihil malle Cæsarem,  
 quam, principe Pompeio, si-  
 ne metu vivere. Tu, puto,  
 haec credis. Ad. Att. 8, 9.

[n] Feruntur omnino con-  
 ditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius  
 eat in Hispaniam; dilectus,  
 qui sunt habiti, & præfida  
 nostra dimittantur: se ulteri-  
 orem Galliam Domitio, ci-  
 teriorem Confidio Noniano

— traditum. Ad Consu-  
 latus petitionem se venturum;  
 neque se jam velle, absente  
 se, rationem sui haberi. Ep.  
 fam. 16. 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones;  
 sed ita, ut removeat præfi-  
 dia ex iis locis, quæ occupa-  
 vit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis  
 conditionibus Romæ Senatus  
 haberi possit. Ibid.

“ I met

“ I met the Consuls, and many of our order : A. Urb. 704.  
 “ they all wished that Cæsar would stand to his Cic. 58.  
 “ conditions, and withdraw his troops : Fav- C. CLAUDIO:  
 “ nius alone was against all conditions imposed MARCELLUS,  
 “ by Cæsar, but was little regarded by the L. CORNE-  
 “ Council : for Cato himself would now rather LIUS LENTU-  
 “ live a slave, than fight ; and declares, that if LUS CRUS.  
 “ Cæsar recall his garrisons, he will attend the  
 “ Senate, when the conditions come to be set-  
 “ tled, and not go to Sicily, where his service  
 “ is more necessary, which I am afraid will be  
 “ of ill consequence—there is a strange va-  
 “ riety in our Sentiments ; the greatest part are  
 “ of opinion, that Cæsar will not stand to his  
 “ terms, and that these offers are made onely to  
 “ hinder our preparations : but I am apt to think  
 “ that he will withdraw his troops : for he gets  
 “ the better of us by being made Consul, and  
 “ with less iniquity, than in the way which he  
 “ is now pursuing ; and we cannot possibly come  
 “ off without some loss ; for we are scandalously  
 “ unprovided both with soldiers, and with mo-  
 “ ney, since all that which was either private in  
 “ the City, or public in the treasury, is left a  
 “ prey to him [o].”

DURING the suspense of this treaty, and the expectation of Cæsar’s answer, Cicero began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel ; Cæsar, from a reflection on his rashness, and the Senate on their want of preparation : but he still suspected Cæsar, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant, as young *Lucius Cæsar* looked, he says, *as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclaim it,*

A. Urb. 704 especially when after offering conditions, which  
 Cic. 52 were likely to be accepted, he would not sit still  
 Coff.  
 C. CLAUDIUS to wait an answer, but continued his march with  
 MARCELLUS, the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner,  
 L. CORNELIUS as before [p]. His suspicions proved true; for  
 LIVIUS LENTU- by letters, which came soon after from Furnius  
 LUS CRUSA. and Curio, he perceived, that they made a mere  
 jest of the Embassy [q].

IT seems very evident, that Cæsar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for slighting it [r]: but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war; or by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving Italy; whilst he himself, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body [s], might

[A] Speso in praesentia pa-  
 cem nos habere. Nam & il-  
 lum furoris, & hunc nostrum  
 copiarum supponit. Ibid.

Tamen vereor ut his ipsis  
 (Cæsar) contentus sit. Nam  
 cum ista mandata deditset L.  
 Cæsari, debuit esse paullo  
 quietior, dum responfa refer-  
 reatur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæsarem quidem, L. Cæ-  
 sare cum mandatis de pace  
 misso, tamen a iunct acerrime  
 loca occupare—ib. 18.

L. Cæsarem vidi—ut id ip-  
 sum mihi ille videatur irriden-  
 di causa fecisse, qui tantis de  
 rebus huic mandata dederit,  
 nisi forte non dedit, & hic

sermone aliquo arrepto pro  
 mandatis abusus est—ib. 13.

[g] Accepi litteras tuas,  
 Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis  
 ad Furnium, quibus irridet  
 L. Cæsaris legationem.—  
 ib. 19.

[r] Cæs. Comment. de  
 Bell. civ. l. 1.

[s] O celeritatem incredi-  
 bilem!—ad Att. 7. 22. Ci-  
 cero calls him a monster of  
 vigilance and celerity.—

[ib. 8. 9.] for from his pas-  
 sage of the Rubicon, though  
 he was forced to take in all  
 the great Towns on his road,  
 and spent seven days before  
 Corfinium, yet in less than  
 two

might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. " I now plainly see, says Cicero, though later indeed than I could have wished on account of the assurances given me by Balbus, that he aims at nothing else, nor has ever aimed at any thing from the beginning, but Pompey's life [r]."

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO'S  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS CRUS.

If we consider this famous *passage of the Rubicon*, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that Pompey might reasonably condemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If Caesar's view indeed had been to possess himself onely of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their General, and an over-match for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed against him; every Province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of Pharsalia. But above all, his e-

two months he marched through the whole length of Italy, and came before the gates of Brundifium before Pompey could embark on the 9th of March. Ad Att. 9.

13.

[r] Intelligo serius equidem quam vellem, propter epistolas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

A. Urb. 704. enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could  
 Cic. 58. not transport his forces abroad without the hazard  
 Coss. of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS. being starved at land by the difficulty of conveying  
 supplies and provisions to them: Pompey re-  
 lied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was  
 persuaded, that it must necessarily determine the  
 war in his favor [u]: so that it seems surprizing,  
 how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands  
 of so great a Commander, could possibly fail of  
 success; and we must admire rather the fortune,  
 than the conduct of Cæsar, for carrying him safe  
 through all these difficulties to the possession of  
 the Empire.

CICERO seldom speaks of his attempt, but as a kind of madness [x], and seemed to retain some hopes to the last, that he would not persist in it: the same imagination made Pompey and the Senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppose him. Cæsar on the other hand might probably imagine, that their stiffness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in Italy; in which case he was sure enough to beat them: so that both sides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by mistaking each other's views. Cæsar, I say, might well apprehend, that they designed to try their strength with him in Italy: for that was the constant persuasion of the whole party, who thought it the best scheme which could be pursued: Pompey humored them in it, and always talked big to keep up their spirits; and though he

[u] Existimat, (Pompeius) sima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.  
 qui mare teneat, eum necesse [x] Cum Cæsar amentia  
 rerum potiri—itaque navalis quadam raperetur—Ep. fam.  
 apparatus ei semper antiquis 16. 12.

saw from the first the necessity of quitting Italy, yet A. Urb. 704.  
he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word at Cic. 58.  
the same time to Cicero, that he should have a Coss.  
firm army in a few days, with which he would  
march against Cæsar into Picenum, so as to give  
them an opportunity of returning to the City [y].  
The plan of the war, as it was commonly under-  
stood, was to possess themselves of the principal  
posts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defensive,  
in order to distress Cæsar by their different armies,  
cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his ac-  
cess to Rome, and hold him continually employ-  
ed, till the veteran army from Spain, under  
Pompey's Lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and  
Varro, could come up to finish his overthrow [z].  
This was the notion which the Senate entertained  
of the war; they never conceived it possible that  
Pompey should submit to the disgrace of flying  
before Cæsar, and giving up Italy a prey to his  
enemy: in this confidence Domitius, with a  
very considerable force, and some of the princi-  
pal Senators, threw himself into Corfinium, a  
strong town at the foot of the Apennine, on the

[y] Omnes nos dixerunt &  
vix, expertes sui tanti &  
tam inusitati consilii relinque-  
bat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me scribit,  
paucis diebus se firmum exer-  
citum habiturum, spemque  
affert, si in Picenum agrum  
ipse venerit, nos Romanam re-  
dituros esse. Ib. 7. 16.

[z] Suscepto autem bello,  
aut tenenda sit urbs, aut ea  
relicta, ille commeatu & re-  
liquis copiis intercludendus—  
ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille suis condi-

tionibus stare noluerit, bel-  
lum paratum est:—tantum-  
modo ut eum intercludamus,  
ne ad urbem possit accedere:  
quod sperabamus fieri posse:  
dilectus enim magnos habe-  
bamus—ex Hispanique sex  
legiones & magna auxilia, A-  
franio & Petreio ducibus, ha-  
bet a tergo. Videtur, si in-  
saniet, posse opprimi, modo  
ut urbe salva—Ep. fam. 16.  
12.

Summa autem spes Afra-  
nium cum magnis copiis ad-  
ventare—ad Att. 8. 3.

Adriatic

A. Urb. 704. Adriatic fide, where he proposed to make a stand  
 Cic. 5<sup>8.</sup> against Cæsar, and stop the progress of his march ;  
 Coss.  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LUS CAUS. but he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the  
 number of *three Legions*, for want of knowing  
 Pompey's secret. Pompey indeed, when he  
 saw what Domitius intended, pressed him earnest-  
 ly, by several Letters, to come away and join  
 with him, telling him, " that it was impossible  
 " to make any opposition to Cæsar, till their  
 " whole forces were united ; and that as to him-  
 " self, he had with him onely the two Legions.  
 " which were recalled from Cæsar, and were not  
 " to be trusted against him ; and if Domitius  
 " should entangle himself in Corfinium, so as to  
 " be precluded by Cæsar from a retreat, that he  
 " could not come to his relief with so weak an  
 " army, and bad him therefore not to be sur-  
 " prized to hear of his retiring, if Cæsar should  
 " persist to march towards him [a] : yet Do-  
 mitius, prepossessed with the opinion, that Italy  
 was to be *the seat of the war*, and that Pompey  
 would never suffer so good a body of troops, and  
 so many of his best friends to be lost, would not  
 quit the advantageous post of Corfinium, but de-  
 pended still on being relieved ; and when he was  
 actually besieged, sent Pompey word, *how easily*  
*Cæsar might be intercepted between their two ar-*  
*mies* [b].

[a]. Nos disiecta manu pa-  
 res adversariis esse non pos-  
 sumus.—

Quamobrem nolito com-  
 moveri, si audieris me negre-  
 di, si forte Cæsar ad me ve-  
 niet,—etiam atque etiam te-  
 horor, ut cum omni copia  
 quam perniciem ad me venias.  
 —vid. Epist. Pomp. ad De-

mit. ad Att. 8. 12.

[b] Domitius ad Pompe-  
 ium—mittit, qui petant at-  
 que orent, ut sibi subveniat :  
 Cæsarem duobus exercitibus,  
 & locorum angustiis interclu-  
 di posse, frumentaque prohi-  
 beri, &c.

Cæs. Comment. de Bell.  
 civ. l. i.

CICERO

CICERO was as much disappointed as any of A. Urb. 704.  
the rest; he had never dreamt of their being o- Cic. 58.  
bliged to quit Italy, till by Pompey's motions Coss.  
he perceived at last his intentions; of which he  
speaks, with great severity, in several of his Let- C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
ters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new MARCELLUS,  
face of their affairs; and to enable Atticus to L. CORNE-  
give it the more clearly, he explains to him in LIUS LENTU-  
short what occurred to his own mind on the one LUS CRUS.  
side and the other. "The great obligations,  
" says he, which I am under to Pompey, and  
" my particular friendship with him, as well as  
" the cause of the Republic itself, seem to per-  
" suade me, that I ought to join my counsils  
" and fortunes with his. Besides, if I stay be-  
" hind, and desert that band of the best and  
" most eminent Citizens, I must fall under the  
" power of a single person, who gives me many  
" proofs indeed of being my friend, and whom,  
" as you know, I had long ago taken care to  
" make such from a suspicion of this very storm,  
" which now hangs over us; yet it should be  
" well considered, both how far I may venture  
" to trust him, and supposing it clear, that I  
" may trust him, whether it be consistent with  
" the character of a firm and honest Citizen to  
" continue in that City, in which he has born  
" the greatest honors, and performed the great-  
" est acts, and where he is now invested with  
" the most honorable Priesthood, when it is to be  
" attended with some danger, and perhaps with  
" some disgrace, if Pompey should ever restore  
" the Republic. These are the difficulties on  
" the one side; let us see what there are on the  
" other: nothing has hitherto been done by our  
" Pompey, either with prudence or courage;  
" I may add also nothing but what was contra-  
" ry

- A. Urb. 704. " try to my advice and authority : I will omit  
 Cic. 58. " those old stories ; how he first nursed, raised  
 Coll. " and armed this man against the Republic ;  
**C. CLAUDIO**S " how he supported him in carrying his laws by  
**MARCELLUS**, " violence, and without regard to the Auspices ;  
**L. CORNE-** " how he added the farther Gaul to his Govern-  
**LIUS LENTU-** " ment, made himself his son-in-law, assisted as  
**LUS CRUS.** " Augur in the Adoption of Clodius, was more  
 " zealous to restore me, than to prevent my  
 " being expelled ; enlarged the term of Cæsar's  
 " command, served him in all his affairs in his  
 " absence, nay, in his third Consulship, after  
 " he began to espouse the interests of the Re-  
 " public, how he insisted, that the ten Tribuns  
 " should jointly propose a law to dispense with  
 " his absence in suing for the Consulship, which  
 " he confirmed afterwards by a law of his own,  
 " and opposed the Consul Marcellus, when he  
 " moved to put an end to his government on the  
 " first of March : but to omit, I say, all this,  
 " what can be more dishonorable, or shew a  
 " greater want of conduct than this retreat, or  
 " rather shamefull flight from the City ? what  
 " conditions were not preferable to the necessity  
 " of abandoning our country ? the conditions, I  
 " confess, were bad ; yet what can be worse than  
 " this ? but Pompey, you'll say, will recover  
 " the Republic : when ? or what preparation is  
 " there for it ? is not all Picenum lost ? is not  
 " the way left open to the City ? is not all our  
 " treasure both public and private given up to  
 " the enemy ? in a word, there is no party, no  
 " forces, no place of rendezvous for the friends  
 " of the Republic to resort to ; Apulia is chosen  
 " for our retreat ; the weakest and remotest  
 " part of Italy, which implies nothing but de-  
     " spair, and a design of flying by the opportu-  
     " nity

" nity of the sea, &c. [c]. In another Letter, A. Urb. 704.  
 " there is but one thing wanting, says he, to Cic. 58.  
 " complete our friend's disgrace; his failing to Coss.  
 " succour Domitius: no body doubts but that C. CLAUDIO  
 " he will come to his relief; yet I am not of MARCELLUS,  
 " that mind. Will he then desert such a Citi- L. CORNE  
 " zen, and the rest, whom you know to be LIUS LENTU  
 " with him? especially when he has thirty co- LUS CRUS.  
 " horts in the Town: yes, unless all things de-  
 " ceive me, he will desert him: he is strangely  
 " frightened; means nothing but to fly; yet  
 " you, for I perceive what your opinion is,  
 " think, that I ought to follow this man. For  
 " my part, I easily know, whom I ought to fly,  
 " not whom I ought to follow. As to that  
 " saying of mine, which you extoll, and think  
 " worthy to be celebrated, *that I had rather be*  
 " conquered with Pompey, than conquer with Cæ-  
 " sar; 'tis true, I still say so; but with such a  
 " Pompey as he then was, or as I took him to  
 " be: but as for this man, who runs away, be-  
 " fore he knows from whom, or whither; who  
 " has betrayed us and ours, given up his coun-  
 " try, and is now leaving Italy; if I had rather  
 " be conquered with him, the thing is over, I  
 " am conquered, &c. [d]"

THERE was a notion in the mean while, that universally prevailed through Italy, of Cæsar's *cruel and revengefull temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended: Cicero himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his Letters, where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be a *second Phalaris*, not a *Pisistratus*; a *bloody, not a gentle Tyrant*. This he inferred from the *violence of his past life*; the

A. Urb. 704. nature of his present enterprise ; and above all,  
 Cic. 58. from the character of his friends and followers ;  
 C. CLAUDIO. Cest. who were, generally speaking, a needy, pro-  
 MARCELLUS, fligate, audacious crew ; prepared for every thing  
 L. CORNE- that was desperate [e]. It was affirmed likewise  
 LIUS LENTU- with great confidence, that he had openly de-  
 LUS CRUS. clared, that he was now coming to revenge the  
 deaths of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, and all the other  
 Marian Chiefs, whom Pompey, when acting under Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their op-  
 position to the Syllan cause [f]. But there was  
 no real ground for any of these suspicions : for  
 Cæsar, who thought Tyranny, as Cicero says,  
*the greatest of Goddesses*, and whose sole view it  
 had been through life to bring his affairs to this  
 crisis, and to make a bold push for Empire, had,  
 from the observation of past times, and the fate of  
 former Tyrants, laid it down for a maxim, that  
*clemency in victory was the best means of securing*  
*the stability of it* [g]. Upon the surrender there-  
 fore of Corfinium, where he had the first oppor-  
 tunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he

[e] Ιstum cuius φαλαρινούδε  
 times, omnia teterreme fac-  
 turum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.

Incertum est Phalarimne  
 an Piliāgratum sit imitaturus  
 —ib. 20.

Nam cædem video si vice-  
 rit— & regnum non modo  
 Romano homini sed ac Per-  
 se quidem tolerabile — ib.  
 10. 8.

Qui hic potest se gerere  
 non perdite ? vita, mores ante  
 facta, ratio suscepit negotii,  
 socii —ib 9. 2. &c. 9. 19.

[f] Atque eum loqui qui-  
 dam αὐθητικῶς narrabant ;  
 Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se

ponas persequi, &c. Ad  
 Att. 9. 14.

[g] τὸ δῶν μεγίστη ἡ τ-  
 χων τυρανίδα. Ad Att. 7.  
 11.

Tentesmus hoc modo, si  
 possumus, omnium voluntate  
 recuperare, & diurna  
 victoria uti : quoniam reliqui  
 credulitate odium effugere  
 non poterunt, neq; victoriam  
 diutius tenere, preter unum  
 L. Syllam, quem imitaturus  
 non sum. Haec nova sit ra-  
 tio vincendi ; ut misericordia  
 & liberalitate nos muniamus.  
 —Ep. Cæsaris ad Opp. Att.  
 9. 7.

shewed

shewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismission of Domitius, and all the other Senators who fell into his bands; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend [b]. This made a great turn in his favor, by easing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, *that he sought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity.* Pompey on the other hand appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms——“ tell me, I beg of you, “ says Cicero, what can be more wretched, than “ for the one to be gathering applause from the “ worst of causes, the other giving offence in “ the best? the one to be reckoned the preserver of his enemies, the other the desertor of his friends? and in truth, though I have all “ the affection which I ought to have for our “ friend Cnaeus, yet I cannot excuse his not “ coming to the relief of such men: for if he “ was afraid to do it, what can be moreaultry? “ or if, as some think, he thought to make “ his cause the more popular, by their destruction, what can be more unjust? &c. [i].” from this first experiment of Cæsar's clemency,

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI  
LIUS LENTU  
LUS CRUS.

[b] Cef. Comment. l. i. Plutar. in Cef.—

[i] Sed obsecro te, quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausus in fortissima causa querere; alterum offendentes in optima; alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? & mehercules

quamvis amenus Cneum nostrum, ut & facimus & debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris nos subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam five timuit quid ignavius? five, ut quidam potant, meliorem suam causam illorum cædere putavit, quid injustus? —ad Att. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cicero took occasion to send him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his  
 Cic. 58. Coff.  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup> MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ You judge rightly of me, for I am tho-  
 “ roughly known to you, that nothing is far-  
 “ ther removed from me than cruelty ; and as I  
 “ have a great pleasure from the thing itself, so  
 “ I rejoice and triumph to find my act approved  
 “ by you : nor does it at all move me, that those,  
 “ who were dismissed by me, are said to be gone  
 “ away to renew the war against me : for I de-  
 “ sire nothing more, than that I may always act  
 “ like myself ; they like themselves. I wish that  
 “ you would meet me at the City, that I may  
 “ use your counsil and assistance as I have hither-  
 “ to done in all things. Nothing, I assure you,  
 “ is dearer to me than Dolabella ; I will owe  
 “ this favor therefore to him : nor is it possible  
 “ for him indeed to behave otherwise, such is  
 “ his humanity, his good sense, and his affec-  
 “ tion to me. Adieu [k].”

WHEN Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himself obliged to retire to Brundisium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, *bis design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad* [*l*] ; he was very desirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at Formize, to press him to come away directly ; but Cicero, already

[*k*] Ad Att. 9. 16.      *denique me certorem consilii*

[*l*] Qui amissus Corfinio sui fecit.—ib. 9. 2.

much

much out of humor with him; was disgusted still  
the more by his short and negligent manner of  
writing, upon an occasion so important [m]: the  
second of Pompey's Letters, with Cicero's an-  
swer, will explane the present state of their af-  
fairs, and Cicero's sentiments upon them.

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
MARCELLUS;  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS CRUS;

Cn. Pompeius Magnus Proconsul to M. Cicero  
Emperot:

" If you are in good health, I rejoice: I read  
your Letter with pleasure: for I perceived in it  
your ancient virtue by your concern for the  
common safety. The Consuls are come to  
the army, which I had in Apulia: I earnestly  
exhort you, by your singular and perpetual  
affection to the Republic to come also to us,  
that by our joint advice we may give help and  
relief to the afflicted state. I would have you  
make the Appian way your road, and come  
in all hast to Brundisium. Take care of your  
health."

M. Cicero Emperor to Cn. Magnus Proconsul:

" WHEN I sent that Letter, which was deli-  
vered to you at Canusium; I had no suspicion  
of your crossing the sea for the service of the  
Republic, and was in great hopes; that we  
should be able, either to bring about an ac-  
commodation; which to me seemed the most  
useful; or to defend the Republic with the great-  
est dignity in Italy. In the mean time, be-

[m] Epistolarum Pompeii scribendo diligentiam volui  
duarum, quas ad me misit, tibi notam esse: earum ex-  
negligentiam, meamque in exempla ad te misi. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. " fore my Letter reached you, being informed  
 Cic. 58. " of your resolution, by the instructions which  
 Cof.  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>. " you sent to the Consuls, I did not wait till I  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS.) " could have a Letter from you, but set out im-  
 mediately towards you with my Brother and  
 our children for Apulia. When we were come  
 " to Theanum, your friend C. Meffius, and ma-  
 " ny others told us, that Cæsar was on the road  
 " to Capua, and would lodge that very night at  
 " Æsernia: I was much disturbed at it, because,  
 " if it was true, I not onely took my journey to  
 " be precluded, but myself also to be certainly  
 " a prisoner. I went on therefore to Cales with  
 " intent to stay there, till I could learn from  
 " Æsernia the certainty of my intelligence: at  
 " Cales there was brought to me a copy of the  
 " Letter, which you wrote to the Consul Lentu-  
 " lus, with which you sent the copy also of one  
 " that you had received from Domitius, dated  
 " the eighteenth of February, and signified,  
 " that it was of great importance to the Repub-  
 " lic, that all the troops should be drawn toge-  
 " ther, as soon as possible, to one place; yet  
 " so as to leave a sufficient Garrison in Capua.  
 " Upon reading these Letters, I was of the same  
 " opinion with all the rest, that you were re-  
 " solved to march to Corfinium with all your  
 " forces, whither, when Cæsar lay before the  
 " Town, I thought it impossible for me to come.  
 " While this affair was in the utmost expectati-  
 " on, we were informed at one and the same  
 " time both of what had happened at Corfinium,  
 " and that you were actually marching towards  
 " Brundisium: and when I and my Brother re-  
 " solved without hesitation to follow you thither,  
 " we were advertised by many, who came from  
 " Samnium, and Apulia, to take care that we  
     " did

“ did not fall into Cæsar’s hands, for that he was  
“ upon his march to the same places where our  
“ road lay, and would reach them sooner than  
“ we could possibly do. This being the case, it  
“ did not seem adviseable to me, or my Brother,  
“ or any of our friends, to run the risk of hurt-  
“ ing, not only ourselves, but the Republic, by  
“ our rashness: especially when we could not  
“ doubt, but that if the journey had been safe  
“ to us, we should not then be able to overtake  
“ you. In the mean while I received your Let-  
“ ter dated from Canusium the twenty-first of  
“ February, in which you exhort me to come in  
“ all hast to Brundisium: but as I did not receive  
“ it till the twenty-ninth, I made no question  
“ but that you were already arrived at Brundi-  
“ sium, and all that road seemed wholly shut  
“ up to us, and we ourselves as surely intercept-  
“ ed as those who were taken at Corfinium: for  
“ we did not reckon them onely to be prisoners,  
“ who were actually fallen into the enemy’s hands,  
“ but those too not less so, who happen to be  
“ enclosed within the quarters and garrisons of  
“ their adversaries. Since this is our case, I  
“ heartily wish in the first place, that I had al-  
“ ways been with you, as I then told you when  
“ I relinquished the Command of Capua, which  
“ I did not do for the sake of avoiding trouble,  
“ but because I saw that the Town could not be  
“ held without an army, and was unwilling  
“ that the same accident should happen to me,  
“ which to my sorrow has happened to some of  
“ our bravest Citizens at Corfinium: but since it  
“ has not been my lot to be with you, I wish  
“ that I had been made privy to your counsels:  
“ for I could not possibly suspect, and should  
“ sooner have believed any thing, than that for

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIO-

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNA-

LIUS LENTU-

LVS Causa.

A. Urb. 704. " the good of the Republic, under such a Lea-  
Cic. 58. " der as you, we should not be able to stand our  
Coff. " ground in Italy: nor do I now blame your  
C. CLAUDIUS " conduct, but lament the fate of the Republic;  
MARCELLUS, " L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU- " LUS CRUS. " and though I cannot comprehend what it is  
which you have followed, yet I am not the  
less persuaded, that you have done nothing,  
but with the greatest reason. You remember,  
I believe, what my opinion always was; first,  
to preserve peace even on bad conditions; then  
about leaving the City; for as to Italy, you  
never intimated a tittle to me about it: but I  
do not take upon myself to think, that my  
advice ought to have been followed: I follow-  
ed yours; nor that for the sake of the Repub-  
lic, of which I despaired, and which is now  
overturned, so as not to be raised up again  
without a civil and most pernicious war: I  
sought you; desired to be with you; nor will I  
omit the first opportunity which offers of effect-  
ing it. I easily perceived, through all this af-  
fair, that I did not satisfy those who are fond  
of fighting: for I made no scruple to own,  
that I wished for nothing so much as peace;  
not but that I had the same apprehensions  
from it as they; but I thought them more to-  
lerable than a civil war: then, after the war  
was begun, when I saw that conditions of  
peace were offered to you, and a full and ho-  
nor able answer given to them, I began to  
weigh and deliberate well upon my own con-  
duct, which, considering your kindness to me,  
I fancied that I should easily explane to your  
satisfaction: I recollect that I was the onely  
man, who, for the greatest services to the pub-  
lic, had suffered a most wretched and cruel pu-  
nish ment: that I was the onely one, who, if I  
offended

“ offended him, to whom at the very time when  
“ we were in arms against him, a second Con-  
“ fulship and most splendid Triumph was offer-  
“ ed, should be involved again in all the same  
“ struggles; so that my person seemed to stand  
“ always exposed as a public mark to the insults  
“ of profligate Citizens: nor did I suspect any  
“ of these things till I was openly threaten'd with  
“ them: nor was I so much afraid of them, if  
“ they were really to befall me, as I judged it  
“ prudent to decline them, if they could ho-  
“ nestly be avoided. You see in short the state  
“ of my conduct while we had any hopes of  
“ peace; what has since happened deprived me  
“ of all power to do any thing: but to those  
“ whom I do not please I can easily answer, that  
“ I never was more a friend to C. Cæsar than  
“ they, nor they ever better friends to the Re-  
“ public than myself: the onely difference be-  
“ tween me and them is, that as they are ex-  
“ cellent Citizens, and I not far removed from  
“ that character, it was my advice to procede  
“ by way of treaty, which I understood to be  
“ approved also by you; theirs by way of arms;  
“ and since this method has prevailed, it shall be  
“ my care to behave myself so, that the Repub-  
“ lic may not want in me the spirit of a true  
“ Citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu [n].”

THE disgust, which Pompey's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this Letter, was the true reason why he did not join him at his time: he had a mind to deliberate a while longer, before he took a step so decisive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct,

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIO-

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNE-

LIUS LENTU-

LUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. which were the most liable to exception, he adds,  
 Cic. 58.  
 Coss. *I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing,*  
*which has not both a probable and prudent excuse—*  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.  
*and in truth was willing to consider a little longer*  
*what was right and fit for me to do [o].* The  
 chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still  
 thought a peace possible, in which case Pompey  
 and Cæsar would be one again, and he had  
 no mind to give Cæsar any cause to be an enemy  
 to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.

WHILE things were in this situation, Cæsar sent young Balbus after the Consul Lentulus, to endeavour to persuade him to stay in Italy, and return to the City, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: “ Young Balbus came to me on the twenty-fourth in the evening, running in all hast by private roads after Lentulus with Letters and instructions from Cæsar, and the offer of any Government, if he will return to Rome: but it will have no effect unless they happen to meet: he told me that Cæsar desired nothing so much as to overtake Pompey; which I believe; and to be friends with him again; which I do not believe; and begin to fear, that all his clemency means nothing else at last but to give that one cruel blow. The elder Balbus writes me word, that Cæsar wishes nothing more than to live in safety, and yield the first rank to Pompey. You take him I suppose to be in earnest [p].”

CICERO seems to think, that Lentulus might

[o] *Nihil prætermissum est, mihi esset, diutius cogitare quod non habeat sapientem excusationem—& plane quid rectum, & quid faciendum malui—ib. 8. 12.*

[p] *Ad Att. 8. 9.*

bave been persuaded to stay if Balbus and he had  
met together; for he had no opinion of the firm- A. Urb. 704.  
ness of these Consuls, but says of them both on Cic. 58.  
another occasion, *that they were more easily moved* C. CLAUDIO<sup>s</sup>  
*by every wind, than a feather or a leaf.* He re- MARCELLUS,  
ceived another Letter soon after from Balbus, L. CORNE-  
of which he sent a copy to Atticus, *that he might LIUS LENTU-*  
*pity him, he says, to see what a dupe they thought* LUS CRUS.  
*to make of him [q].*

## Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ I conjure you, Cicero, to think of some  
“ method of making Cæsar and Pompey friends  
“ again, who by the perfidy of certain persons  
“ are now divided : it is a work highly worthy  
“ of your virtue : take my word for it, Cæsar  
“ will not onely be in your power, but think him-  
“ self infinitely obliged to you if you would  
“ charge yourself with this affair. I should be  
“ glad if Pompey would do so too ; but in the  
“ present circumstances, it is what I wish rather  
“ than hope, that he may be brought to any  
“ terms : but whenever he gives over flying and  
“ fearing Cæsar, I shall not despair, that your  
“ authority may have its weight with him. Cæ-  
“ sar takes it kindly, that you were for Lentu-  
“ lus’s staying in Italy, and it was the greatest  
“ obligation which you could confer upon me :  
“ for I love him as much as I do Cæsar himself :  
“ if he had suffered me to talk to him as freely  
“ as we used to do, and not so often shunned  
“ the opportunities which I sought of conferring  
“ with him, I should have been less unhappy

[q] Nec me Consales mo- meam doleres, cum me deri-  
vent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio deri videres. Ib. 8. 15.  
facilius moventur—ut vicem

A. Urb. 704. " than I now am : for assure yourself that no  
 Cic. 58. " man can be more afflicted than I, to see one,  
 Coss. " who is dearer to me than myself, acting his  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup> MARCELLUS, " part so ill in his Consulship, that he seems to  
 L. CORNE- " be any thing rather than a Consul : but should  
 LIUS LENTU- " he be disposed to follow your advice, and take  
 LUS CRUS. " your word for Cæsar's good intentions, and  
 " pass the rest of his Consulship at Rome, I  
 " should begin to hope, that by your authority  
 " and at his motion, Pompey and Cæsar may  
 " be made one again with the approbation even  
 " of the Senate. Whenever this can be brought  
 " about, I shall think that I have lived long e-  
 " nough : you will entirely approve, I am sure,  
 " what Cæsar did at Corfinium : in an affair of  
 " that sort, nothing could fall out better, than  
 " that it should be transacted without blood. I  
 " am extremely glad, that my Nephew's visit  
 " was agreeable to you ; as to what he said  
 " on Cæsar's part, and what Cæsar himself  
 " wrote to you, I know Cæsar to be very fin-  
 " cere in it, whatever turn his affairs may  
 " take [r]."

CÆSAR at the same time was extremely solli-  
 citous, not so much to gain Cicero, for that was  
 not to be expected, as to prevail with him *to stand*  
*neuter*. He wrote to him several times to that  
 effect, and employed all their common friends to  
 press him with Letters on that head [s] : who,  
 by his keeping such a distance at this time from  
 Pompey, imagining that they had made some  
 impression, began to attempt a second point with  
 him, viz. *to persuade him to come back to Rome*,

[r] Ad Att. 8. 15.

[s] Quod queris quid Cæ-  
 sar ad me scriperit. Quod  
 scepse: gratissimum sibi esse

quod quierim : oratque ut in  
 eo perseverem. Balbus mi-  
 nor haec eadem mandata. Ib.  
 8. 11.

and

*and assist in the councils of the Senate,* which Cæsar  
designed to summon at his return from following Pompey : with this view in the hurry of his march towards Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following Letter.

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO-  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ WHEN I had but just time to see our friend Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with, or hear him, was in hast, and on my march, having sent the Legions before me, yet I could not pass by without writing, and sending him to you with my thanks : though I have often paid this duty before, and seem likely to pay it oftner, you deserve it so well of me. I desire of you in a special manner, that, as I hope to be in the City shortly, I may see you there, and have the benefit of your advice, your interest, your authority, your assistance in all things. But to return to the point : you will pardon the hast and brevity of my Letter, and learn the rest from Furnius.” To which Cicero answered.

Cicero Emperor to Cæsar Emperor.

“ UPON reading your Letter, delivered to me by Furnius, in which you pressed me to come to the City, I did not so much wonder at what you there intimated, of your desire to use my advice and authority, but was at a loss to find out what you meant by my interest, and assistance : yet I flattered myself into a persuasion, that out of your admirable and singular wisdom, you were desirous to enter into some measures for establishing the peace and cord

A. Urb. 704. " cord of the City ; and in that case I looked  
 Cic. 58. " upon my temper and character as fit enough to  
 Coff. " be employed in such a deliberation. If the  
 C. CLAUDIOUS  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELI-  
 US LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS. " case be so, and you have any concern for the  
 safety of our friend Pompey, and of recon-  
 ciling him to yourself, and to the Republic,  
 " you will certainly find no man more proper for  
 " such a work than I am, who from the very  
 " first have always been the adviser of peace  
 " both to him and the Senate ; and since this  
 " recourse to arms have not meddled with any  
 " part of the war, but thought you to be really  
 " injured by it, while your enemies and enviers  
 " were attempting to deprive you of those ho-  
 " nors, which the Roman people had granted  
 " you. But as at that time I was not onely a fa-  
 " vorer of your dignity, but an encourager also  
 " of others to affit you in it ; so now the dig-  
 " nity of Pompey greatly affects me : for many  
 " years ago I made choice of you two, with  
 " whom to cultivate a particular friendship, and  
 " to be, as I now am, most strictly united.  
 " Wherefore I defire of you, or rather beg and  
 " implore with all my prayers, that in the hurry  
 " of your cares you would indulge a moment to  
 " this thought, how by your generosity I may be  
 " permitted to shew myself an honest, gratefull,  
 " pious man, in remembering an act of the  
 " greatest kindnaess to me. If this related onely  
 " to myself, I should hope still to obtain it from  
 " you : but it concerns, I think, both your honor  
 " and the Republic, that by your means I should  
 " be allowed to continue in a situation the best  
 " adapted to promote the peace of you two, as  
 " well as the general concord of all the Citizens.  
 " After I had sent my thanks to you before on  
 " the account of Lentulus ; for giving safety

“ to him who had given it to me; yet upon A. Urb. 704.  
 “ reading his Letter, in which he expresses the Cic. 58.  
 “ most grateful sense of your liberality, I took Coff.  
 “ myself to have received the same grace from C. CLAUDIO  
 “ you, which he had done: towards whom, if MARCELLUS,  
 “ by this you perceive me to be grateful, let it L. CORNELI  
 “ be your care, I beseech you, that I may be so US LENTU  
 “ too towards Pompey [1].” LUS CRUS.

CICERO was censured for some passages of this Letter, which Caesar took care to make public, *viz.* the compliment on Caesar's admirable wisdom; and above all, the acknowledgement of his being injured by his adversaries in the present war: in excuse of which, he says, “ that he was not sorry for the publication of it, for he himself had given several copies of it; and considering what had since happened, was pleased to have it known to the world how much he had always been inclined to peace; and that, in urging Caesar to save his Country, he thought it his business to use such expressions as were the most likely to gain authority with him, without fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in urging him to an act, for which he would gladly have thrown himself even at his feet [2].”

He received another Letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by

[1] Ad Att. 9. 6. 11.

[2] Epistolam meam quod perulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim & acciderunt jam & impendent, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. Cum autem eum hortarer, cum præsternim hominem,

non videbar ullo modo facilius metaris, quam si id, quod eam hortarer, convenire ejus sapientiae dicerem. Eam si admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad salutem patris hortarer, non sum veritus, ne viderer assentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjecisset, &c. Ib. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confi-  
 Cic. 58. dents.  
 Cof.

C. CLAUDIO  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELI-  
 US LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS.

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

“ The advice, not onely of little men, such  
 “ as we are, but even of the greatest, is gene-  
 “ rally weighed, not by the intention of the  
 “ giver, but the event; yet relying on your hu-  
 “ manity, we will give you what we take to be  
 “ the best in the case about which you wrote to  
 “ us; which, though it should not be found pru-  
 “ dent, yet certainly flows from the utmost fide-  
 “ lity and affection to you. If we did not know  
 “ from Cæsar himself, that, as soon as he comes  
 “ to Rome, he will do what in our judgement  
 “ we think he ought to do, treat about a recon-  
 “ ciliation between him and Pompey, we should  
 “ give over exhorting you to come and take  
 “ part in those deliberations; that by your help,  
 “ who have a strict friendship with them both,  
 “ the whole affair may be settled with ease and  
 “ dignity: or, if on the contrary, we believed  
 “ that Cæsar would not do it, and knew that he  
 “ was resolv'd upon a war with Pompey, we  
 “ should never try to persuade you, to take arms  
 “ against a man to whom you have the greatest  
 “ obligations in the same manner as we have al-  
 “ ways entreated you, not to fight against Cæsar.  
 “ But since at present we can onely guess rather  
 “ than know what Cæsar will do, we have no-  
 “ thing to offer but this, that it does not seem  
 “ agreeable to your dignity, or your fidelity, so  
 “ well known to all, when you are intimate with  
 “ them both, to take arms against either: and  
 “ this we do not doubt but Cæsar, according to  
 “ his humanity, will highly approve: yet if you  
 “ judge,

“ judge proper, we will write to him, to let us A. Urb. 704.  
 “ know what he will really do about it; and if Cic. 58.  
 “ he returns us an answer, will presently send Coff.  
 “ you notice, what we think of it, and give C. CLAUDIUS,  
 “ you our word, that we will advise onely, what MARCELLUS,  
 “ we take to be most suitable to your honor, L. CORNELI-  
 “ not to Cæsar's views; and are perswaded, that US LENTU-  
 “ Cæsar, out of his indulgence to his friends,  
 “ will be pleased with it [x].” This joint Letter was followed by a separate one from Balbus.

## Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ IMMEDIATELY after I had sent the common Letter from Oppius and myself, I received one from Cæsar, of which I have sent you a copy; whence you will perceive how desirous he is of peace, and to be reconciled with Pompey, and how far removed from all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do, to see him in these sentiments. As to yourself, your fidelity, and your piety, I am intirely of the same mind, my dear Cicero, with you, that you cannot, consistently with your character and duty, bear arms against a man to whom you declare yourself so greatly obliged: that Cæsar will approve this resolution, I certainly know from his singular humanity; and that you will perfectly satisfy him, by taking no part in the war against him, nor joining yourself to his adversaries: this he will think sufficient, not only from you, a person of such dignity and splendor, but has allowed it even to me, not to be found in that camp, which is likely

[x] Ad Att. 9. 8.

“ to

A. Urb. 704. " to be formed against Lentulus and Pompey, from  
 Cic. 58. " whom I have received the greatest obligations :  
 Coss.  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup> " it was enough, he said, if I performed my  
 MARCELLUS, " part to him in the City and the gown, which  
 L. CORNELI- " I might perform also to them if I thought fit :  
 us LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS. " wherefore I now manage all Lentulus's affairs  
 " at Rome, and discharge my duty, my fidelity,  
 " my piety to them both: yet in truth I do not take  
 " the hopes of an accommodation, though now  
 " so low, to be quite desperate, since Cæsar is in  
 " that mind in which we ought to wish him i  
 " one thing would please me, if you think it  
 " proper, that you would write to him, and de-  
 " fine a guard from him, as you did from Pom-  
 " pey, at the time of Milo's trial, with my ap-  
 " probation: I will undertake for him, if I right-  
 " ly know Cæsar, that he will sooner pay a re-  
 " gard to your dignity, than to his own interest.  
 " How prudently I write these things, I know  
 " not; but this I certainly know; that whatever  
 " I write, I write out of a singular love and af-  
 " fection to you: for (let me die, so as Cæsar  
 " may but live) if I have not so great an esteem  
 " for you, that few are equally dear to me.  
 " When you have taken any resolution in this  
 " affair, I wish that you would let me know it,  
 " for I am exceedingly solicitous that you should  
 " discharge your duty to them both, which in  
 " truth I am confident you will discharge. Take  
 " care of your health [y]."

THE offer of a guard was artfully insinuated; for while it carried an appearance of honor and respect to Cicero's person, it must necessarily have made him Cæsar's prisoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper,

out of Italy : but he was too wise to be caught A. Urb. 704.  
 by it, or to be moved in any manner by the Let- Cic. 58.  
 ters themselves, to entertain the least thought of C. CLAUDIUS  
 going to Rome, since to assist in the Senate, MARCELLUS,  
 when Pompey and the Consuls were driven out L. CORNELI-  
 of it, was in reality to take part against them. L. LENTU-  
 What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, lus: CRUS.  
 was the daily expectation of an interview with  
 Cæsar himself, who was now returning from  
 Brundisium by the road of Formiae, where he  
 then resided : for though he would gladly have  
 avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it  
 decently, yet to leave the place just when Cæsar  
 was coming to it, could not fail of being inter-  
 preted as a particular affront : he resolved there-  
 fore to wait for him, and to act on the occasion with  
*a firmness and gravity, which became his rank and character.*

THEY met, as he expected, and he sent Atticus the following account of what passed be-  
 tween them : " My discourse with him, says he,  
 " was such, as would rather make him think  
 " well of me than thank me. I stood firm in  
 " refusing to go to Rome ; but was deceived in  
 " expecting to find him easy ; for I never saw  
 " any one less so : he was condemned, he said,  
 " by my judgement ; and, if I did not come, o-  
 " thers would be the more backward : I told  
 " him that their case was very different from  
 " mine. After many things said on both sides,  
 " he bad me come however and try to make  
 " peace : shall I do it, says I, in my own way ?  
 " do you imagine, replied he, that I will pre-  
 " scribe to you ? I will move the Senate then,  
 " says I, for a decree against your going to Spain,  
 " or transporting your troops into Greece, and  
 " say a great deal besides in bewailing the case of  
 " Pompey :

A. Urb. 704. " Pompey! I will not allow, replied he, such  
 Cic. 58. " things to be said: so I thought, says I, and  
 Coff. " for that reason will not come; because I must  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, " either say them, and many more, which I  
 L. CORNELI- " cannot help saying, if I am there, or not come  
 US LENTU- " at all. The result was; that to shift off the  
 LUS CRUS. " discourse, he wished me to consider of it;  
 " which I could not refuse to do, and so we  
 " parted. I am persuaded, that he is not pleased  
 " with me; but I am pleased with myself; which  
 " I have not been before of a long time. As  
 " for the rest; good Gods, what a crew he has  
 " with him! what a hellish band, as you call  
 " them!—what a deplorable affair! what de-  
 sperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to see  
 " Servius's son, and Titinius's, with many more  
 " of their rank in that camp, which besieged  
 " Pompey! he has six legions; wakes at all  
 " hours; fears nothing; I see no end of this ca-  
 lamity. His declaration at the last, which I  
 " had almost forgot, was odious; that if he was  
 " not permitted to use my advice, he would use  
 " such as he could get from others, and pursue  
 " all measures which were for his service [z].<sup>25</sup>  
 From this conference, Cicero went directly to  
 Arpinum, and there invested his son, *at the age*  
*of sixteen; with the manly gown*: he resolved to  
 carry him along with him to Pompey's camp,  
 and thought it proper to give him an air of man-  
 hood before he enlisted him into the war; and  
 since he could not perform that ceremony at  
 Rome, chose to oblige his Countrymen, by cele-  
 brating this Festival in his native City [a].

[z] Ad Att. 9. 18.

pini potissimum togam parant

[a] Ego meo Ciceroni,

dedi, idque municipibus no-

quoniam Roma caremus, Ar-

stris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

WHILE Cæsar was on the road towards Rome, A. Urb. 704  
 young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery gi- Cic. 58.  
 dy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his ser- Conf.  
 vice, with a promise of some information con- C. CLAUDIOVS  
 cerning his uncle; upon which, being sent for MARCELLUS,  
 and admitted to an audience, he assured Cæsar, L. CORNELI-  
*that his Uncle was utterly disaffected to all his mea-*  
*sures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pom-*  
*pœy. The boy was tempted to this rashness by the*  
*bopes of a considerable present, and gave much un-*  
*easiness by it both to the Father and the Uncle,*  
*who had reason to fear some ill consequence from*  
*it [b]: but Cæsar desiring still to divert Cicero*  
*from declaring against him, and to quiet the ap-*  
*prehensions which he might entertain for what*  
*was past, took occasion to signify to him in a kind*  
*Letter from Rome, that he retained no resentmen-*  
*ce of his refusal to come to the City, though Tullus and*  
*Servius complained, that he had not shewn the same*  
*indulgence to them—ridiculous men, says Cicero,*  
*who, after sending their sons to besiege Pompey at*  
*Brundifum, pretend to be scrupulous about going to*  
*the Senate [c].*

CICERO's behaviour however and residence in those villa's of his, which were nearest to the sea,

[b] *Litteras ejus ad Cæsa-*  
*rem missas ita graviter tulim-  
 us, ut te quidem celaremus  
 —tantum scito post Hir-*  
*tium conventum, arcessimus  
 ab Cæsare; cum eo de meo  
 animo ab suis consiliis alie-*  
*nissimo, & confilio relinquendi  
 Italiam—ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.*

*Quintum puerum accepi  
 vehementer. Avaritiam vi-  
 deo fuisse, & spem magni  
 congiarii. Magnum hoc ma-  
 lum est.—ib. 10. 7.*

[c] *Cæsar mihi ignoscit  
 per litteras, quod non Romanum  
 venerim, seque in optimam  
 partem id accipere dicit. Fa-  
 cile patior, quod scribit, se-  
 cum Tullum & Servitum ques-  
 tos esse, quia non idem sibi,  
 quod mihi remisisset. Ho-  
 mines ridiculos, qui cum fi-  
 lios misissent ad Cn. Pompei-  
 um circumcidendum, ipi in  
 senatum venire dubitarent.  
 Ib. 10. 3.*

A. Urb. 704. gave rise to a general report, that he was waiting  
 Cic. 58. only for a wind to carry him over to Pompey ;  
 Cœf. upon which Cæsar sent him another pressing Letter,  
 C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that  
 L. CORNELIUS LENTU- step.  
 LIUS CRUS.

Cæsar Emperor, to Cicero Emperor.

“ Though I never imagined that you would do  
 “ any thing rashly or imprudently, yet moved by  
 “ common report, I thought proper to write to  
 “ you, and beg of you by our mutual affection, that  
 “ you would not run to a declining cause, whither  
 “ you did not think fit to go while it stood firm.  
 “ For you will do the greatest injury to our  
 “ friendship, and consult but ill for yourself, if  
 “ you do not follow, where fortune calls : for  
 “ all things seem to have succeeded most prospe-  
 “ rously for us, most unfortunately for them :  
 “ nor will you be thought to have followed the  
 “ cause, (since that was the same, when you  
 “ chose to withdraw yourself from their councils)  
 “ but to have condemned some act of mine ;  
 “ than which you can do nothing that could  
 “ affect me more sensibly, and what I beg by  
 “ the rights of our friendship, that you would  
 “ not do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to  
 “ the character of an honest, quiet man, and  
 “ good Citizen, than to retire from civil broils ?  
 “ from which some, who would gladly have  
 “ done it, have been deterred by an apprehen-  
 “ sion of danger : but you after a full testimony  
 “ of my life, and trial of my friendship, will  
 “ find nothing more safe or more reputable, than  
 “ to keep yourself clear from all this contention.  
 “ The 16th of April on the road [d].”

[d] Ad Att. x. 8.

ANTHONY

ANTHONY, also, whom Caesar left to guard A. Urb. 704.  
Italy in his absence, wrote to him to the same  
purpose, and on the same day.

Antonius Tribun of the people and Proprætor to  
Cicero Emperor.

C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE.  
LIGIA LENTU.  
LUS CRUS.

“ If I had not a great esteem for you, and  
“ much greater indeed than you imagine, I  
“ should not be concerned at the report which  
“ is spread of you, especially when I take it to  
“ be but false. But out of the excess of my af-  
“ fection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report,  
“ though false, makes some impression on me.  
“ I cannot believe that you are preparing to cross  
“ the sea; when you have such a value for Dol-  
“ bella, and your daughter Tullia, that excel-  
“ lent woman, and are so much valued by us all,  
“ to whom in truth your dignity and honor are  
“ almost dearer than to yourself: yet I did not  
“ think it the part of a friend not to be moved  
“ by the discourse even of ill-designing men,  
“ and wrote this with the greater inclination, as  
“ I take my part to be the more difficult on the  
“ account of our late coldness, occasioned rather  
“ by my jealousy, than any injury from you.  
“ For I desire you to assure yourself, that no bo-  
“ dy is dearer to me than you, excepting my  
“ Caesar; and that I know also that Caesar  
“ reckons M. Cicero in the first class of his  
“ friends. Wherefore I beg of you, my Ci-  
“ cero, that you will keep yourself free and un-  
“ determined, and despise the fidelity of that  
“ man who first did you an injury, that he might  
“ afterwards do you a kindness; nor fly from  
“ him, who, though he should not love you,  
“ which is impossible, yet will always desire to  
“ see you in safety and splendor. I have sent

A. Urb. 704. " Calpurnius to you with this, the most intimate  
 Cic. 58. " mate of my friends, that you might perceive  
 Coss. " the great concern which I have for your life

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, " and dignity [e]."

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS. CÆLIUS also wrote to him on the same subject; but finding by some hints in Cicero's answer, that he was actually preparing to run away to Pompey, he sent him a second Letter, in a most pathetic, or, as Cicero calls it, *lamentable strain* [f], in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

### Caelius to Cicero.

" BEING in a consternation at your Letter,  
 " by which you shew that you are meditating  
 " nothing but what is dismal, yet neither tell  
 " me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from  
 " me, I presently wrote this to you. By all  
 " your fortunes, Cicero, by your children, I  
 " beg and beseech you, not to take any step injurious to your safety: for I call the gods and  
 " men, and our friendship to witness, that what  
 " I have told, and forewarned you of, was not  
 " any vain conceit of my own, but after I had  
 " talked with Cæsar, and understood from him,  
 " how he resolved to act after his victory, I informed you of what I had learnt. If you  
 " imagine that his conduct will always be the  
 " same, in dismissing his enemies and offering  
 " conditions, you are mistaken: he thinks and  
 " even talks of nothing but what is fierce and  
 " severe, and is gone away much out of humor  
 " with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by  
 " the opposition which he has met with, nor will

[e] Ibid. scriptam miserabiliter — ib.  
 [f] M. Cælii epistolam x. 9.

“ there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if you A. Urb. 704.  
“ yourself, your onely son, your house, your Cic. 58.  
“ remaining hopes be dear to you: if I, if Coff.  
“ the worthy man, your son in law, have any C. CLAUDIO  
“ weight with you, you should not desire to MARCELLUS,  
“ overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or L. CORNE  
“ to relinquish that cause in which our safety LIUS LENTU  
“ confists, or to entertain an impious wish against LUS CRUS.

“ yours. Lastly, reflect on this, that you have  
“ already given all the offence which you can  
“ give, by staying so long behind; and now to  
“ declare against a Conqueror, whom you would  
“ not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and  
“ to fly after those who run away, with whom  
“ you would not join, while they were in con-  
“ dition to resist, is the utmost folly. Take  
“ care, that while you are ashamed not to ap-  
“ prove yourself one of the best Citizens, you  
“ be not too hasty in determining what is the  
“ best. But if I cannot wholly prevail with  
“ you, yet wait at least till you know how we  
“ succede in Spain, which, I now tell you, will  
“ be ours as soon as Cæsar comes thither. What  
“ hopes they may have when Spain is lost, I  
“ know not; and what your view can be in ac-  
“ ceding to a desperate cause, by my faith I  
“ cannot find out. As to the thing, which you  
“ discover to me by your silence about it, Cæsar  
“ has been informed of it; and after the first fa-  
“ lutation, told me presently what he had heard  
“ of you: I denied that I knew any thing of  
“ the matter, but begged of him to write to  
“ you in a manner the most effectual to make  
“ you stay. He carries me with him into Spain,  
“ if he did not, I would run away to you where-  
“ ever you are, before I came to Rome, to dis-  
“ pute this point with you in person, and hold  
“ you

A. Urb. 704. " you fast even by force. Consider, Cicero, a-  
 Cic. 58. " gain and again, that you do not utterly ruin  
 Coss. " both you and yours; that you do not know-  
**C. CLAUDIO**  
**MARCELLUS,** " ingly and willingly throw yourself into diffi-  
**L. CORNELI-**  
**US LENTU-**  
**LUS CRUS.** " culties, whence you see no way to extricate  
 " yourself. But if either the reproaches of the  
 " better sort touch you, or you cannot bear the  
 " insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of  
 " men, I would advise you to chuse some place  
 " remote from the war, till these contests be o-  
 " ver, which will soon be decided: if you do  
 " this, I shall think that you have done wisely,  
 " and you will not offend Cæsar [g]."

**CÆLIUS**'s advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a Letter to Cicero, *that in a public dissension, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honeste side; but when it came to arms, the stronger; and to judge that the best which was the safest* [b]. Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did, in all other cases, by a contrary rule; *that where our duty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.*

**CURIO** paid Cicero a friendly visit of two days about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæsar had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the war, in which Curio was open, and without any reserve, in talking of Cæsar's

[g] Ep. fam. 8. 16.

[b] Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in dissensione domestica debeat, quamdiu civiliter sine armis

cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum & castra ventum sit, firmiorē; & id melius statuere, quod tatus sit. Ep. fam. 8. 14. views:

views: "He exhorted Cicero to chuse some A. Urb. 704.  
 " neutral place for his retreat; assured him, that Cic. 58.  
 " Cæsar would be pleased with it; offered him C. CLAUDIUS  
 " all kind of accommodation and safe passage MARCELLUS,  
 " through Sicily; made not the least doubt, but L. CORNELI-  
 " that Cæsar would soon be master of Spain, us LENTU-  
 " and then follow Pompey with his whole force; LUS CRUS  
 " and that Pompey's death would be the end of  
 " the war: but confessed withal, that he saw  
 " no prospect or glimmering of hope for the  
 " Republic: said, that Cæsar was so provoked  
 " by the Tribun Metellus at Rome, that he  
 " had a mind to have killed him, as many of  
 " his friends advised; that if he had done it,  
 " a great slaughter would have ensued; that  
 " his clemency flowed, not from his natural  
 " disposition, but because he thought it po-  
 " pular; and if he once lost the affections of  
 " the people, he would be cruel: that he was  
 " disturbed to see the people so disgusted by his  
 " seizing the public treasure; and though he  
 " had resolved to speak to them before he left  
 " Rome, yet he durst not venture upon it for  
 " fear of some affront; and went away at last  
 " much discomposed [i]."

THE leaving the public treasure at Rome a prey  
 to Cæsar, is censured more than once by Cicero,  
 as one of the blunders of his friends [k]: but it  
 is a common case in civil dissensions, for the  
 honest side, through the fear of discrediting  
 their cause by any irregular act, to ruin it by an  
 unseasonable moderation. The public money  
 was kept in the Temple of Saturn; and the Con-  
 suls contented themselves with carrying away the  
 keys, fancying, that the sanctity of the place

[i] Ad Att. x. 4.

[k] Ib. 7. 12, 15.

A. Urb. 704. would secure it from violence ; especially when  
 Cic. §8. the greatest part of it was a fund of a sacred kind,  
 Coss. set apart by the laws for occasions only of the last  
 C. CLAUDIUS exigency, or the terror of a Gallic invasion [l].  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE- Pompey was sensible of the mistake, when it  
 LIUS LENTU- was too late, and sent instructions to the Con-  
 LVS CRUS. fuls to go back and fetch away this sacred trea-  
 sure : but Cæsar was then so far advanced, that  
 they durst not venture upon it ; and Lentulus  
 coldly sent him word, *that he himself should first*  
*March against Cæsar into Picenum, that they might*  
*be able to do it with safety [m].* Cæsar had none  
 of these scruples ; but as soon as he came to  
 Rome, ordered the “ doors of the Temple to  
 “ be broken open, and the money to be seized  
 “ for his own use ; and had like to have killed  
 “ the Tribun Metellus,” who trusting to the  
 authority of his office, was silly enough to at-  
 tempt to hinder him. He found there an im-  
 mense treasure, “ both in coin and wedges of  
 “ solid gold, reserved from the spoils of con-  
 “ quered nations from the time even of the  
 “ Punic war : for the Republic, as Pliny says,  
 “ had never been richer than it was at this  
 “ day [n].”

CICERO was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of his Laurel, and Lictors, and style of Emperor ; which in a time of that jealousy and distraction exposed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to the taunts and raillery

[l] Dio, p. 161.

ipse in Picenum — ad Att.

[m] C. Cassius — attulit  
 mandata ad Consules, ut Ro-  
 manum venirent, pecuniam de  
 sanctiore aero auferrent —  
 Consul rescript, ut prius

7. 21.

[n] Nec fuit aliis tempo-  
 ribus Respub. locupletior,  
 Plin. Hist. 33. 3.

of his enemies [o]. He resolved to cross the sea A. Urb. 704.  
 to Pompey ; yet knowing all his motions to be Cic. 58.  
 narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his in- C. CLAUDIUS  
 tention, especially from Antony, who resided at MARCELLUS,  
 this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict L. CORNE-  
 eye upon him. He sent him word therefore by LIUS LENTU-  
 Letter, that he had " no design against Cæsar ;" LUS CRUS.  
 " that he remembered his friendship, and his  
 " son in law Dolabella ; that if he had other  
 " thoughts, he could easily have been with  
 " Pompey ; that his chief reason for retiring  
 " was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in  
 " public with the formality of his Lictors [p]." But Antony wrote him a surly answer ; which Cicero calls a *Laconic Mandate*, and sent a copy of it to Atticus, *to let him see*, he says, *how tyrannically it was drawn*.

" How sincere is your way of acting ? for  
 " he, who has a mind to stand neuter, stays at  
 " home ; he, who goes abroad, seems to pass a  
 " judgement on the one side or the other. But  
 " it does not belong to me to determine, whe-  
 " ther a man may go abroad or not. Cæsar has  
 " imposed this task upon me, not to suffer any  
 " man to go out of Italy. Wherefore it signi-  
 " fies nothing for me to approve your resoluti-  
 " on, if I have no power to indulge you in it.  
 " I would have you write to Cæsar, and ask  
 " that favor of him : I do not doubt but you

[o] Accedit etiam molesta  
 hæc pompa lictorum meo-  
 rum, nomenque imperii quo  
 appellor. — sed incurrit hæc  
 nostra laurus non solum in o-  
 culos, sed jam etiam in  
 culas malevolorum — *ep.*  
*Sam. 2. 16.*

[p] Cum ego saepissime

scripsisse, nihil me contra  
 Cæsaris rationes cogitare ;  
 meminisse me generi mei,  
 meminisse amicitiae, potuisse  
 si aliter sentirem, esse cum  
 Pompeio, me autem, quia  
 cum lictoribus invitatus cursa-  
 rem, abesse velle — ad Att.  
*x. 10.*

" will

A. Urb. 704. “will obtain it, especially since you promise to  
Cic. 58. “retain a regard for our friendship [q].”  
Coff.

C. CLAVD. MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE.  
LIUS LENTI.  
LUS CAYS.

After this Letter, Antony never came to see him, but sent an excuse, *that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him,* giving him to understand at the same time by Trebatius, *that he had special orders to observe his motions* [r].

THESE Letters give us the most sensible prop of the high esteem and credit in which Cicero flourished at this time in Rome: when in a contest for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the Chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought; since whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which Cicero espoused. The same Letters will confute likewise in a great measure the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successfull power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

DURING Caesar's absence in Spain, Antony, who had no body to controul him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself without reserve in all the ex-

[q] Ad Att. x. 10.

[r] Nominatum de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viserat, sed hoc Trebatius nar-

ravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me misit, si pater deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me sibi succinere putaret—ib. x. 15.

cels

cess of lewdness and luxury. Cicero describing his usual equipage in travelling about Italy, says, “ he carries with him in an open Chaise the famed Actæs Cytheris ; his wife follows in a second, with seyen other close Litters, full of his whores and boys. See by what base hands we fall ; and doubt, if you can, whether Cæsar, let him come vanquished or victorious, will not make cruel work amongst us at his return. For my part, if I cannot get a ship, I will take a boat to transport myself out of their reach ; but I shall tell you more after I have had a conference with Antony [s].” Among Antony’s other extravagancies, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, *with his mistress Cytheris in a Chariot drawn by Lions*. Cicero alluding to this, in a Letter to Atticus, tells him jocosely, *that be need not be afraid of Antony’s Lions [t]* ; for though the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

PLINY speaks of this fact, *as a designed insult on the Roman people* ; as if, *by the emblem of the Lions, Antony intended to give them to understand, that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke [u]* : Plutarch also mentions it ;

but

[s] Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem : septem præterea conjunctæ lectice sunt amicarum, an amicorum ? vide quam turpi letō pœfemus : & dubita, si potes, quin ille seu vietus, seu vñctor redierit, cædem facturus sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed

plura scribam cum illum convenero—ib. x. 10.

[t] Tu Antonii leones pertinebas, cave. Nihil est illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

[u] Jugo subdidit eos, primuque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius ; & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis ; non sine ostento quodam tem-

porum

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LANTE-  
LUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. but both of them place it after the battle of  
 Cic. 58. *Pbarsalia*, though it is evident from this hint of  
 Coll. it given by Cicero, that it happened long be-  
 fore.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

WHILST Cicero continued at Formiae, deli-  
 berating on the measures of his conduct, he  
 formed several *political theses's*, adapted to the  
 circumstances of the times, for the amusement  
 of his solitary hours: "Whether a man ought  
 " to stay in his Country, when it was possessed  
 " by a Tyrant. Whether one ought not by all  
 " means to attempt the dissolution of the Ty-  
 " ranny, though the City on that account was  
 " exposed to the utmost hazard: whether there  
 " was not cause to be afraid of the man who  
 " should dissolve it, lest he should advance him-  
 " self into the other's place: whether we should  
 " not help our country by the methods of peace,  
 " rather than war: whether it be the part of a  
 " Citizen to sit still in a neutral place, while  
 " his country is oppressed, or to run all hazards  
 " for the sake of the common liberty: whe-  
 " ther one ought to bring a war upon his city,  
 " and besiege it, when in the hands of a Ty-  
 " rant: whether a man, not approving the dis-  
 " solution of a Tyranny by war, ought not to  
 " join himself however to the best Citizens:  
 " whether one ought to act with his benefactors  
 " and friends, though they do not in his op-  
 " nion take right measures for the public inte-  
 " rest: whether a man, who has done great  
 " services to his country, and for that reason

porum, generosos spiritus ju-  
 gum subire illo prodigo sig-  
 nificant: nam quod ita  
 vestitus est cum mima Cythe-

ride, supra monstra etiam il-  
 larum calamitatum fuit.—  
 Plin. Hist. 8. 16.

" has

“ has been envied and cruelly treated, is still A. Urb. 704.  
 “ bound to expose himself to fresh dangers for Cic. 58.  
 “ it, or may not be permitted at last to take Coff.  
 “ care of himself and his family, and give up C. CLAUDIUS  
 “ all political matters to the men of power — MARCELLUS,  
 “ by exercising myself, *says he*, in these questi- L. CORNE-  
 “ ons, and examining them on the one side and LIUS LENTU-  
 “ the other, I believe my mind from its present LUS CRUS.  
 “ anxiety, and draw out something which may  
 “ be of use to me [x].”

FROM the time of his leaving the City, together with Pompey and the Senate, there passed not a single day in which he did not write *one or more Letters to Atticus* [y], the only friend whom he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From these letters it appears, that the sum of Atticus's advice to him agreed entirely with his own sentiments, *that if Pompey remained in Italy, he ought to join with him; if not should stay behind, and expect what fresh accidents might produce* [z]. This was what Cicero had hitherto followed; and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favor of Pompey. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the re-

[x] In his ego me consul-tationibus exercens, differens in utramque partem, tum græce tum latine, abduco par-rumper animum a molestiis & tu ἐγέγερται delibero. Ad Att. 9. 4.

[y] Hujus autem epistole non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermitteatur, quin dem ad te litteras, sed —ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistolam dictavi, & pridie dederam mea manu longiorem—ib. x. 3.

[z] Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere, summo enim periculo facies, nec Reipub. proderis; cui quidem posterius poteris professe, si man-seris—ib. 9. 10.

proaches

A. Urb. 704. preaches of the better sort, who began to censure  
 Cic. 58. his tardiness, and above all, *bis gratitude for fa-*  
*Conf.* *vors received*, which had ever the greatest weight  
 C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>. MARCELLUS, with him, made him resolve at all adventures to  
 L. CORNE- run after him; and though he was displeased  
 LIUS LENTU- with his management of the war, and *without*  
 LUS CAUS. *any hopes of bis success* [a]; though he knew him  
 before to be no politician, and now perceived him,  
 he says, *to be no General*; yet with all his faults,  
 he could not endure the thought of deserting him,  
 nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long be-  
 hind him; “ For as in love, says he, any thing  
 “ dirty and indecent in a mistrel will stifle it for  
 “ the present, so the deformity of Pompey’s  
 “ conduct put me out of humor with him; but  
 “ now that he is gone, my love revives, and I  
 & cannot bear his absence, &c. [b]”

WHAT held him still a while longer was *the*  
*tears of his family*, and *the remonstrances of his*  
*daughter Tullia*; who entreated him to wait only  
*the issue of the Spanish war*, and urged it as *the*  
*advice of Atticus* [c]. He was passionately fond  
of this daughter; and with great reason; for she  
was a woman of singular accomplishments, with

[a] *Ingrati animi crimen*  
*horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.*

*Nec mehercule hoc facio*  
*Reipub. causa, quam fundi-*  
*tus deletam puto, sed ne quis*  
*me putat ingratum in eum,*  
*qui me levavit iis incommo-*  
*dis, quibus ipse afficerat—*  
*ib. 9. 19.*

*Fortunae sunt committenda*  
*omnia. Sine spe conanur*  
*ulla. Si melius quid accide-*  
*rit mirabimus—ib. x. 2.*

[b] *Sicut in rebus ipsorum,*  
*alienant immundæ, insulse,*

*indecora: sic mē illius fuge,*  
*negligentiasque deformitas a-*  
*vertit ab amore—nunc eimer-*  
*git amor, nunc desiderium*  
*terre non possum. Ib. 9. 10.*

[c] *Sed cum ad me mea*  
*Tullia scribat, orans, ut quid*  
*in Hispania gerature expectem,*  
*& semper adscribat idem vi-*  
*deri tibi—ib. x. 8.*

*Lacrymæ meorum me in-*  
*terdum molliunt, precantiū,*  
*ut de Hispanis expec-*  
*temus—ib. x. 9.*

the utmost affection and piety to him: speaking A. Urb. 704.  
of her to Atticus, " how admirable, says he, is Cic. 58.  
" her virtue? how does she bear the public Cal.  
" calamity? how her domestic disgrunts? what a  
" greatness of mind did she shew at my parting  
" from them? in spight of the tendernets of her  
" love, she wishes me to do nothing but what  
" is right, and for my honor [2]."  
But as to  
the affair of Spain, he answered, " that what-  
ever was the fate of it, it could not alter the  
case with regard to himself; for if Cæsar should  
be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey  
would be less welcome and reputable, since  
Curius himself would run over to him: or if the  
war was drawn into length, there would be no  
end of waiting: or lastly, if Pompey's army  
should be beaten, instead of sitting still, as they  
advised, he thought just the contrary, and should  
choose the rather to run away from the violence  
of such a victory. He resolved therefore, be-  
says, to act nothing craftily; but whatever be-  
came of Spain, to find out Pompey as soon as  
he could, in conformity to Solon's law, who  
made it capital for a Citizen not to take part  
in a civil dissension [3]."

[2] Cujus quidem virtus  
mirifica. Quomodo illa fert  
publicam clamorem? quomodo  
domesticas tristes? quantus  
autem animus in discessu no-  
stro? sit sanguinis, sit summa  
ostentatio; tamen nos recte fa-  
cere & bene audire vult. ib.  
x. 8.

[3] Si pellitur, quam gra-  
tus aut quam honestus tumerit  
ad Pompeium noster adventus,  
cum ipsum Curiensem ad ip-  
sum transiitum putemus? si

trahitur bellum, quid expec-  
tem, aut quam diu respon-  
satur, ut si viscimus in His-  
pania, quietamus. Id ego  
contra puto: istum enim vic-  
torem relinquendum magis  
puto, quam victimum.—ibid.—  
Astute nihil sum acharus;  
sunt in Hispania quilibet.  
Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem  
negligam, qui capite sanxit,  
si qui in seditione non alterius  
utrius partis fuisset—ib. x. 1.

C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS.  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LIUS CRUX.

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIOUS

MARCELLUS,

L. CORNE-

LIUS LENTU-

LUS CRUS.

BEFORE his going off, Servius Sulpicius sent him word from Rome, that he had a great desire to have a conference with him, to consult in common what measures they ought to take. Cicero consented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the same mind with himself, and to have his company to Pompey's camp: for in answer to his message, he intimated his own intention of leaving Italy; and if Servius was not in the same resolution, advised him to save himself the trouble of the journey, though if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming [f]. But at their meeting he found him so timorous and desponding, and so full of scruples upon every thing which was proposed, that instead of pressing him to the same conduct with himself, he found it necessary to conceal his own design from him: "of all the men, says he, whom I have met with, he is alone a greater Coward than C. Marcellus, who laments his having been Consul; and urges Antony to hinder my going, that he himself may stay with a better grace [g]."

CATO, whom Pompey had sent to possess himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post,

[f] Sin autem tibi homini prudentissimo videtur utile esse, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cuius jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam—  
Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Restat ut discedendum putem; in quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod confilium in discessu, que loca sequamur—si habes jam statutum, quid tibi agendum pu-

tes, in quo non sit conjunctum confilium tuum cum meo, superedreas hoc labore itineris—ib. 4. 2.

[g] Servii confilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrent. Unum C. Marcelllo cognovi timidiorem, quem Confulem fuisse penitet—qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius.—Ad Att. x. 15.

and

*and yield up the island to Curio, who came like- A. Urb. 704.  
wife to seize it on Cæsar's part with a superior Cic. 58.  
force. Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's Coss.  
conduct, being persuaded that he might have C. CLAUDIO  
held his possession without difficulty, and that MARCELLUS,  
all honest men would have flocked to him, espe- L. CORNE-  
cially, when Pompey's fleet was so near to support LIUS LENTU-  
him: for if that had but once appeared on the LUS CRUS.  
coast, and begun to act, Curio himself, as he  
confessed, would have run away the first. I wish,  
says Cicero, that Cotta may hold out Sardinia, as  
it is said he will: for if so, how base will Cato's  
act appear [b].*

IN these circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman to his Pompeian Villa beyond Naples*, which, not being so commodious for an embarkment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flight [i]. Here he received a private message from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were in garrison at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the Town into his hands; but instead of listening to the overture, he slipt away the next morning before day to avoid seeing them; since such a force or a greater could be of

[b] Curio mecum vixit— Siciliæ diffidens, si Pompeius navigare coepisset—ib. x. 7.

Curio—Pompeii classem timebat: quæ si esset, se de Sicilia abiturum. Ib. x. 4.

Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potait, & si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est a. d. 8. Kal.

Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Est enim rumor. O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem!—ib. x. 16.

[i] Ego ut minorem suspicioneum profectionis,—profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. 1111 Id. Ut ibi essem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. Ib.

A. Urb. 704 no service there; and he was apprehensive that  
 Cic. 5<sup>8.</sup> it was designed only as a trap for him [*k*].  
 C. CLAUDIUS  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LIA CRUS.  
 Conf.

THUS pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow Pompey; and though from the nature of the war, he plainly saw and declared, "that it was a contention only for rule; yet he thought Pompey the modester, bonester and juster King of the two; and if he did not conquer, that the very name of the Roman people would be extinguished; or if he did, that it would still be after the manner and pattern of Sylla, with much cruelty and blood [*l*]." With these melancholy reflections he set sail on the eleventh of June [*m*], "rushing, as he tells us,

[*k*] Cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me, Centuriones trium Cohortium, quae Pompeii sunt, me velle postridie; haec mecum Ninnius noster, velle eos mihi se, & oppidum tradere. At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid si plures, quo apparuit?—& simul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli—*ibid.*

[*l*] Dominatio que sita ab utroque est. *Ib.* 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio est; in qua pulsus est modestior Rex & probior & integrior; & is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani delectatur necesse est: fin au tem vincit, Sylla-

no more, exemplique vincet  
 —*ib* x. 7.

[*m*] a. d. 111. Id. Jun. Ep. fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that among the reasons, which detained Cicero in Italy longer than he intended, he mentions the *tempestuous weather of the Equinox, and the calms that succeeded it*; yet this was about the end of May [ad Att. x. 17, 18.] which shews what a strange confusion there was at this time in the Roman Kalendar; and what necessity for that reformation of it, which Caesar soon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their months to the regular course of the seasons from which they had so widely varied. Some of the commen-  
 tators,

“ us, knowingly and willingly into voluntary destruction, and doing just what cattel do when driven by any force, running after those of his own kind ; for as the ox, *says he*, follows the herd, so I follow the honest, or those at least who are called so, though it be to certain ruin [n].” As to his Brother Quintus, he was so far from desiring his company in this flight, that *be pressed him to stay in Italy* on account of his personal obligations to Cæsar, and the relation that he had born to him : yet Quintus would not be left behind ; but declared, *that be would follow his Brother, whithersoever he should lead, and think that party right which be should choose for him* [o].

WHAT gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entring, was, to see Pompey on all occasions affecting to imitate Sylla, and to hear him often say with a superior air, *could Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it ?* as if determined to make Sylla’s victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the same circumstances in which that Conqueror

tators, for want of attending to this cause, are strangely puzzled to account for the difficulty ; and one of them ridiculously imagines, that by *the Equinox*, Cicero covertly means Antony, who used to make *bis dies and nigiles equals*, by sleeping as much as he waked.—

[n] Ego prudens ac sciens ad pœstem ante oculos positam tum profectus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.]

Prudens & sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntaria

rium. [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, que dispulsa sunt generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si fuerint—ad Att. 7. 7.

[o] Fratrem—socium hujus fortunæ esse non erat sequum: cui magis etiam Cæsar irascetur. Sed impetrare non possum, ut maneat. [ib. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placaret, id rectum se putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS CAEUS.

A. Urb. 704. had once been; sustaining the cause of the Senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by those who possessed Italy; and as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, so he was meditating the same kind of return, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies. This frequently shocked Cicero, as we find from many of his Letters, to consider with what cruelty and effusion of civil blood the success even of his own friends would certainly be attended [p].

We have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrhachium: for after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in great measure cut off, so that from June, in which he failed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his Letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war [q]. He arrived however safely in Pompey's camp with *bis son*, *bis brother*, and *nephew*, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of that cause: and that he might make some amends for coming so late, and gain the greater authority with his party, *be furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum out of his own stock for the public service [r]*.

[p] *Quam crebro illud, Sylla potuit, ogo non potero?* —

*Ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & proscripturit diu.* [Att. 9. x.] *Cnæus noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit. si-  
dū; oī; ληγw.* [ib. 7.] *ut non nominatim sed generatim proscriptio esset informata;* Ib. xi. 6.

[q] *Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2,  
3, 4.*

[r] *Etsi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque inangustius est, quicumsumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, constitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honori fore.* [ib. xi. 3.] *si quis habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus.* Ib. 13.

BUT as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: he disliked every thing which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause; and that their own counsils would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party trusting to the superior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the Princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's busines therefore to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæsar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battel with him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and *be himself reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what be bad often foretold [s].* This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even blamed by Cato for coming to them at all, and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation [t].

IN this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsils wholly

[s] Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, allo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter causam. [Ep. fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortis illi viri, Domitii & Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in

bello, nihil adversi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

[t] Cujus me mei facti posnitiuit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendii, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3.—Plutar. in Cic.

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNELI-  
US LENTU-  
LUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and  
 Cic. 58.  
 Conf.

C. CLAUDIO<sup>S</sup>  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNE-  
 LIUS LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS.

what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his *jests*. This gave occasion afterwards to Antony, in a speech to the Senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not onely upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his *jokes*: to which Cicero answered, “ that though their camp indeed was full of care and anxiety, yet in circumstances the most turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but while Antony reproached him both with dejection and joking at the same time, it was a sure proof that he had observed a proper temper and moderation in them both [u].”

[u] *Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset.* [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem modestiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of Cicero's sayings on this occasion are preserved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of his coming so late to them: how can I come late, said he, when I find nothing in readiness among you?—and upon Pompey's asking him sarcastically, where his son-in-law Dolabella was; he is with your Father-in-law, replied he. To a person new-

ly arrived from Italy, and informing them of a strong report at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Caesar; and you sailed hither therefore, said he, that you might see it with your own eyes. And even after their defeat, when Nonnius was exhorting them to courage, because there were seven Eagles still left in Pompey's camp; you encourage well, said he, if we were to fight with Jack-daws. By the frequency of these spleenetic jokes, he is said to have provoked Pompey so far as to tell him, I wish that you would go over to the other side, that you may begin to fear us. Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

YOUNG Brutus was also in Pompey's camp, where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed an irreconcileable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer of his Father [x]. But he followed the cause, not the man; sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon Pompey as the General of the Republic, and the defender of their common liberty.

DURING the course of this war Cicero never speaks of Pompey's conduct but as a perpetual succession of blunders. His first step of leaving Italy was condemned indeed by all, but particularly by Atticus; yet to us at this distance, it seems not only to have been prudent, but necessary [y]. What shocked people so much at it, was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and after the security, which he had all along affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of Cæsar: "Did you ever see, says Cælius, a more silly creature than this Pompey of yours; who, after raising all this bustle, is found to be such a trifler? or did you ever read or hear of a man more vigorous in action, more temperate in victory, than our Cæsar [z]?"

A. Urb. 704.  
Cic. 58.  
Coff.  
C. CLAUDIO  
MARCELLUS,  
L. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS CRUS.

[x] Brutes amicus in causa  
veratur acriter. Ad Att.  
xi. 4.

Vid. Plutar. in Brut. &  
Pomp.

[y] Quorum dux quam  
advertis, tu quoque ani-  
madvertis, cui ne Picena qui-  
dem nota sunt: quam autem  
finc confilio, res testis. Ad

Att. 7. 13.

Si iste Italiam relinquet,  
faciet omnino male, & ut ego  
existimo ελογίσμε, &c. ib. 9.  
10.

[z] Eequando tu hominem  
ineptiorem quam tuum Cn.  
Pompeium vidisti? qui tan-  
tas turbas, qui tam rugax es-  
set commorit? ecquem au-

A. Urb. 704. POMPEY had left Italy about a year before  
 Cic. 58. Cæsar found it convenient to go after him; dur-  
 Coff. ing which time he had gathered a vast fleet from  
 C. CLAUDIOUS all the *maritime States and Cities dependent on the*  
 MARCELLUS,  
 L. CORNELI-  
 US LENTU-  
 LUS CRUS. *Empire*, without making any use of it to distress  
 an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered Si-  
 cily and Sardinia to fall into Cæsar's hands with-  
 out a blow; and the important Town of Mar-  
 seilles, after having endured a long siege for its  
 affection to his cause: but his capital error was  
 the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put him-  
 self at the head of the best army that he had, in  
 a country devoted to his interests, and commodi-  
 ous for the operations of his naval force: when  
 Cicero first heard of this resolution, he thought  
 it *monstrous* [a]; and in truth, the committing  
 that war to his Lieutenants against the superior  
 genius and ascendent of Cæsar, was the ruin of  
 his best troops and hopes at once.

SOME have been apt to wonder, why Cæsar,  
 after forcing Pompey out of Italy, instead of  
 crossing the sea after him, when he was in no  
 condition to resist, should leave him for the space  
 of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure,  
 and strengthen himself with all the forces of the  
 East. But Cæsar had good reasons for what he  
 did: he knew, that all the troops, which could  
 be drawn together from those countries, were no  
 match for his; that if he had pursued him di-  
 rectly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he

tem Cæsare nostro acriorem  
 in rebus agendis, eodem in  
 victoria temperatiorem, aut  
 legisti aut audisti? Ep. fam.  
 8. 15.

[a] Omnis hæc classis A-  
 lexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Si-  
 done, Cypro, Pamphilia, Ly-

cja, Rhodo, &c. ad inter-  
 cludendos Italæ commeatus  
 —comparatur—ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciat Ægyptum—cogi-  
 tare; Hispaniam abjecisse.  
 Monstra narrant—ad Att.  
 9. 11.

had

had done out of Italy, he should have driven him probably into Spain, where of all places he desired the least to meet him; and where in all events Pompey had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army; which it was Caesar's busines therefore to destroy in the first place, or he could expect no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favorable, as when Pompey himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of his marching back with so much expedition to find, as he said, *an army without a General, and return to a General without an army* [b]. The event shewed, that he judged right; for within forty days from the first sight of his enemy in Spain, he made himself master of the whole Province [c].

AFTER the reduction of Spain, he was created *Dictator* by M. Lepidus, then *Praetor at Rome*, and by his *Dictatorial* power declared himself Consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was no sooner invested with this office, than he marched to Brundisium, and embarked on the fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the Empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence at least for opening their gates to the *Consul of Rome*—[d]. Cicero all this while despising of any good from

A. Urb. 705.

Cic. 59.

Cons.

C. JULIUS

CAESAR II.

P. SERVILIUS

VATIA ISAU-

RICUS.

[b] *Ire se ad exercitum fine doce, & inde reversurum ad ducem fine exercitu.* Su-  
eton. J. Cæs. 34.

[c] *Cæs. Comment. l. 2.*

[d] *Illi se datus negare, neque portas Consuli præclu-  
suros.* Cæs. Comm. l. 3.  
590.

the

A. Urb. 705. the war, had been using all his endeavours to  
 Cic. 59. dispose his friends to peace, till Pompey forbade  
 Cott. any farther mention of it in council, declaring,  
**C. JULIUS** that he valued neither life nor country, for which  
**CÆSAR II.** he must be indebted to Cæsar, as the world must take  
**P. SERVILIUS** the case to be, should he accept any conditions in his  
**VATIA ISAU-** present circumstances [e]. He was sensible that he  
 RICUS. had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and  
 done nothing equal to the great name which he  
 had acquired in the world; and was determined  
 therefore, to retrieve his honor before he laid  
 down his arms, by the destruction of his adver-  
 sary, or to perish in the attempt.

DURING the blockade of Dyrhachium, it  
 was a current notion in Cæsar's army, *that Pompey would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place.* Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, sent a Letter to Cicero into Pompey's Camp, exhorting him,  
 " that if Pompey should be driven from these  
 " quarters, to seek some other country, he would  
 " sit down quietly at Athens, or any City remote  
 " from the war: that it was time to think of his  
 " own safety, and be a friend to himself, rather  
 " than to others: that he had now fully satisfied  
 " his duty, his friendship, and his engagements to  
 " that party, which he had espoused in the Re-  
 " public: that there was nothing left, but to be,  
 " where the Republic itself now was, rather than

[e] Desperans victoriam, ingressum in sermonem Pompeius interpellavit, & loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Cæsaris habere videbor? Cæs. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius — de Cæsaris mandatis agere instituit; cum

Comm. 3. 596.

" by

“ by following that ancient one to be in none at all—and that Cæsar would readily approve this conduct [f]:” but the war took a quite different turn; and instead of Pompey’s running away from Dyrrachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the first, and leave to Pompey the credit of pursuing him, as in a kind of flight towards Macedonia.

A. Urb. 705.  
Cic. 59.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR II.  
P. SERVILIUS  
VATIA ISAU-  
RICUS.

WHILE the two armies were thus employed, Cælius, now Praetor at Rome, trusting to his power, and the success of his party, began to publish several violent and odious laws, especially one for the cancelling of all debts [g]. This raised a great flame in the City, till he was over-ruled and deposed from his magistracy by the Consul Servilius, and the Senate: but being made desperate by this affront, he recalled Milo from his exil at Marseilles, whom Cæsar had refused to restore; and in concert with him, resolved to raise some public commotion in favor of Pompey. In this disposition he wrote his last Letter to Cicero; in which, after an account of his conversion, and the service which he was projecting,

“ You are asleep, says he, and do not know how open and weak we are here: what are you doing? are you waiting for a battel, which is sure to be against you? I am not acquainted with your troops; but ours have been long used to fight hard; and to bear cold and hunger with

[f] Illud autem a te peto, ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, & se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas: & aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; satisfactum etiam partibus, &

ei Reipub. quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est Respub. ibi sumus potius, quam dum veterem illam sequamur, sumus in nulla. Ep. fam. 9. 9.

[g] Cæs. Comment. 3: 600.

“ eas.

A. Urb. 705. "easē [b]." But this disturbance, which began  
 Cic. 59.  
 Coss.  
 C. JULIUS  
 CÆSAR II.  
 P. SERVILIUS  
 VATIA ISAU-  
 RICUS.

to alarm all Italy, was soon ended by the death  
 of the Authors of it, Milo and Cælius; who  
 perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed  
 by the soldiers, whom they were endeavouring  
 to debauch. They had both attached themselves  
 very early to the interests and the authority of  
 Cicero, and were qualified by their parts and for-  
 tunes to have made a principal figure in the Re-  
 public, if they had continued in those sentiments,  
 and adhered to his advice; but their passions,  
 pleasures, and ambition got the ascendent; and  
 through a factious and turbulent life hurried them  
 on to this wretched fate.

ALL thoughts of peace being now laid aside,  
 Cicero's next advice to Pompey was, to draw the  
 war into length, nor ever to give Cæsar the op-  
 portunity of a battel. Pompey approved this  
 counsil, and pursued it for some time, till he  
 gained the advantage abovementioned before  
 Dyrrhachium; which gave him such a confidence  
 in his own troops, and such a contempt of Cæ-  
 sar's, "that from this moment, says Cicero,  
 "this great man ceased to be a General; op-  
 "posed a raw, new-raised army, to the most ro-  
 "bust and veteran Legions; was shamefully  
 "beaten; and with the loss of his Camp, forced  
 "to fly away alone [i]."

[b] Vos dormitia, nec hæc  
 adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, &  
 quam sumus imbecilli—quid istic facitis? prælium expec-  
 tatis, quod firmissimum est?  
 vestras copias non novi. Nos-  
 tri valde depugnare, & facile  
 algere & esurire consueverint.  
*Ep. fam. 8. 17.*

[i] Cum ab ea sententia  
 Pompeius valde abhorret,

fundere institui, ut bellum  
 duceret: hoc interdum pro-  
 babat & in ea sententia vide-  
 batur fore, & suisset fortasse,  
 nisi quadam ex pugna coepis-  
 set militibus suis confidere.  
 Ex eo tempore vir ille sum-  
 mus nullus Imperator fuit:  
 virtus turpissime, amissis eti-  
 am castris, solus fugit. *Ep.*  
*fam. 7. 3.*

HAD

HAD Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar A. Urb. 705.  
 must inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's Cic. 59.  
 fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by C. JULIUS  
 sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long CÆSAR II.  
 at land; while an enemy, superior in number of P. SERVILIUS  
 troops, was perpetually harassing him, and wasting VATICIS  
 the country: and the report every where  
 spread of his flying from Dyrrhachium before a  
 victorious army, which was pursuing him, made  
 his march every way the more difficult, and the  
 people of the country more shy of assisting him:  
 till the despicable figure, that he seemed to make,  
 raised such an impatience for fighting, and assur-  
 ance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew  
 them to the fatal resolution of giving him battel  
 at Pharsalia. There was another motive likewise  
 suggested to us by Cicero, which seems to have  
 had no small influence in determining Pompey  
 to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to  
*omens, and the admonitions of Diviners;* to which  
*bis nature was strongly addicted.* The Haruspices  
 were all on his side, and flattered him with eve-  
 ry thing that was prosperous: and besides those  
 in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them  
 at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of  
*the fortunate and auspicious significations which they  
 bad observed in the entrails of their victims [k].*

BUT after all, it must needs be owned, that  
 Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much  
 less liberty of executing, what he himself ap-  
 proved, than in all the other wars, in which he  
 had been engaged. In his wars against foreign

[k] Hoc civili bello, Dii dicta Pompeio? — etenim  
 immortales! — que nobis ille admodum extis & often-  
 in Graciam Româ responsa tis movebatur. De Div. §.  
 Haruspicum missa sunt? que 24.

enemies,

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR II.  
P. SERVILIUS  
VATIA ISAU-  
RICUL

enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will ; but in this, besides several Kings and Princes of the East, who attended him in person, he had with him in his Camp almost all the chief Magistrates and Senators of Rome ; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his counsils, and that in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice : and as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humored, lest through disgust they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their estates and honors ; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teasing Pompey to the resolution of a battel ; charging him with a design to protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority ; and calling him another Agamemnon, *who was proud of holding so many Kings and Generals under his command [1]* ; till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of shame, and against his judgement, to the experiment of a decisive action.

CÆSAR was sensible of Pompey's difficulty, and persuaded, that he could not support the indignity of shewing himself afraid of fighting ; and

[1] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸς βασιλία καὶ Αγαρέμωνα καλέσας, διὰ κάκην. Βασιλίου διὰ τὸ πολέμος ἔχειν ; ιξέτη τὸν δικαίων λογισμόν, καὶ ἵνδικες σύντοιχοι. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, focii me-  
ram, Principes ambitum du-  
cis increpabant. Flor. l. 4.  
2. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in  
Pomp.

from

from that assurance exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned [m].

It must be observed likewise, that, while Pompey had any walls or entrenchments between him and Cæsar, not all Cæsar's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the least advantage against him; but on the contrary, that Cæsar was baffled and disappointed in every attempt. Thus at Brundisium he could make no impression upon the Town, till Pompey at full leisure had secured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at Dyrrachium, the only considerable action, which happened between them, was not only disadvantageous, but almost fatal to him. Thus far Pompey certainly shewed himself the greater Captain, in not suffering a force, which he could not resist in

[m] Cæsar pro natura feror, & conficiendis rei cupidas, ostentare aciem, provocare, lacestere; nunc obfidaone castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduperat; (sed quid his obflet obfido, qui

patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2. ὅμαδητε το μέλαινον τον Αυγέαχιν γενετεσθίσσων, &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705.

Cic. 59.  
Coll.C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR II.P. SERVILIUS  
VATIA IAU-  
RICUS.

A. Urb. 705. the field, to do him any hurt, or carry any point  
 Cic. 59. against him; since that depended on the skill of  
 Coff the General. By the help of entrenchments, he  
 C. JULIUS knew how to make his new raised soldiers a  
 CESAR II. match for Caesar's Veterans; but when he was  
 P. SERVILIUS drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he  
 VATIA ISAU- fought against insuperable odds, by deserting his  
 RICUS. proper arms, as Cicero says, of *caution, counsil,*  
*and authority in whicb he was superior, and committing*  
*his fate to swords and spears, and bodily strength,*  
*in whicb his enemies far excelled him [n].*

CICERO was not present at the battel of Pharsalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhachium much out of humor, as well as out of order: his discontent to see all things going wrong on that side, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak state of health; which made him decline all public command; but he promised Pompey to follow, and continue with him, as soon as his health permitted [o]; and as a pledge of his sincerity, sent his son in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himself gallantly, and acquired great *applause by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin*, and performing every other part of military discipline at the head of one of the wings of

[n] Non iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, confilio, auctoritate, causa, quererant in nobis superiora; sed lacertis & viribus, quibus pares non fuimus.  
 Ep. fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis & gladiis, non confiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris de jure publico disceptari.—Ep. fam.

6. 1.

[o] Ipse fugi adhuc omnem manus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset—me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, estique in magna spe—ad Att. xi. 4.

Hofj.

Horse, of which Pompey had given him the command [p]. Cato staid behind also in the Camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with fifteen Cohorts, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat: upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero as the superior in dignity; and upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, young Pompey was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cato had not prevented it. This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet seems to be referred to in his speech for Marcellus, where he says, *that in the very war, he had been a perpetual afferter of peace, to the hazard even of his life [q].* But the wretched news from Pharsalia threw them all into such a consternation, that they presently took shipping, and dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes or inclinations led them into the different provinces of the Empire [r]. The greatest part who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Afric, the general rendezvous of their scattered forces; whilst others, who were disposed to expect the farther issue of things, and take such measures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was resolved to make this *the end of the war to himself;* and recommended the same conduct to his friends; declar-

A. Urb. 705.

Cic. 59.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR II.

P. SERVILIUS

VATIA ISAU.

RICUS.

[p] Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius ale alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem & a summo viro & ab exercitu consequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando: atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

VOL. II.

[q] Multa de pace dixi, & in ipso bello, eadem etiam cum capitisci mei periculo sensi. Pro Marcell. 5.

[r] Paucis fane post diebus ex Pharsalica fuga venisse Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciavisset—naves subito perterriti scandisis. De Divin. 1. 32.

X

ing,

A. Urb. 705. ing, that as they had been no match for Cæsar, when  
 Cic. 59. <sup>Cod.</sup> entire, they could not hope to beat him, when shat-  
 tered and broken [s]: and so after a miserable  
 C. JULIUS campaign of about eighteen months, he commit-  
 CAESAR II. ted himself without hesitation to the mercy of  
 P. SERVILIUS the Conqueror, and landed again at Brundifium  
 VATIA ISAV- about the end of October.  
 RICUS,

[.] Hunc ego belli mihi fractio superiores fore. Ep.  
 suam feci; nec patavi, cum fam. 7. 3.  
 integri pares non fuissimus,

S E C T.

## S E C T . VIII.

CICERO no sooner returned to Italy, than A. Urb. 706.  
 he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with his *Fasces and Laurel*; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgement of a power superior to the laws: *be condemned himself therefore for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled* [<sup>s</sup>]. What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step was, *a message that he received from Antony, who governed all in Cæsar's absence, and with the same churlish spirit, with which he would have held him before in Italy against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it*: for he sent him *the Copy of a Letter from Cæsar*, in which Cæsar signified, "that he had heard, that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and appeared openly there, which might occasion some disturbance: wherefore

[s] *Ego vero & incaute, at scribis, & celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9.*

*Quae voluntatis me mœsi nonquaque poterit, confitii penitus. In oppido aliquo mallem resedisse, quoad arcesseret. Minus sermonis sub-*

*iiissem : minus accepissem doloris: ipsorum hoc non me angest. Brundisi jacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quomodo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.*

X 2

" he

Cic. 60.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

A. Urb. 706. " he strictly enjoined, that none should be suffered to come to Italy without a special licence  
 Cic. 60. " from himself. Antony therefore desired Ciceron to excuse him, since he could not help obeying Cæsar's commands: but Cicero sent L. Lamia to assure him, that Cæsar had ordered Dolabella to write to him to come to Italy as soon as he pleased; and that he came upon the authority of Dolabella's Letter:" so that Antony in the Edict, which he published to exclude the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by name: which added still to his mortification; since all his desire was to be connived at openly, or tacitly permitted, without being personally disengaged from the rest of his party [u].

But he had several other grievances of a domestic kind, which concurred also to make him unhappy: his Brother Quintus, with his Son, after their escape from Pharsalia, followed Cæsar into Asia, to obtain their pardon from him in person. Quintus had particular reason to be afraid of his resentment, on account of the relation which he had born to him, as one of his Lieutenants in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with great generosity; so that Cicero himself would have dissuaded him from going over to Pompey, but could not prevail: yet in this common calamity, Quintus, in order to make his own peace the more easily, resolved to throw all the blame upon his Brother, and for that purpose made it

[u] Sed quid ego de lictoribus, qui pene ex Italia decedere sum iussus? nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaris ad se literarum: in quibus erat, se audisse, Catonem & L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romæ ut essent

palam, &c. Tum ille edidit ita, ut me exciperet & Lælium nominatim. Quod sane nolle. Poterat enim sine nomine, re ipsa excipi. O multis graves offendit! — ib. 7.

the subject of all his Letters and Speeches to Cæsar's friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.

CICERO was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was sent before towards Cæsar, had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him against his Uncle. Nothing, as Cicero says, ever happened more shocking to him; and though he had no small diffidence of Cæsar's inclination, and many enemies laboring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his Brother and Nephew should hurt themselves rather than him, by their perfidy [x]: for under all the sense of this provocation, his behaviour was just the reverse of theirs; and having been informed, that Cæsar in a certain conversation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to Pompey, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

" As for my Brother, I am not less solicitous  
 " for his safety, than my own; but in my pre-  
 " sent situation dare not venture to recommend  
 " him to you: all that I can pretend to, is, to  
 " beg that you will not believe him to have ever  
 " done any thing towards obstructing my good  
 " offices and affection to you; but rather, that

[x] Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei—neque vero defisit, ubicunque est omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum.—ibid. 8.

Epistolas mihi legerunt plena omnium in me probrorum

—ipſi enim illi putavi perniciſum fore, si ejus hoc tantum ſcelus percrebuiffet—  
ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen ſibi ostendiffe orationis, quam apud Cæfarem contra me eſſet habiturus—multa poſtea Patria, conſimili ſcelere Patria eſſe locutum, ib. 10.

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 60.  
Coff.

C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

- A. Urb. 706. “ he was always the adviser of our union, and  
 Cic. 60. “ the companion, not the leader of my voyage :  
 Coss. “ wherefore in all other respects, I leave it to  
 C. JULIUS  
 CESAR Dicta-  
 tor II.  
 M. ANTO-  
 NIUS Mag.  
 Equit.
- “ you to treat him, as your own humanity, and  
 “ his friendship with you require ; but I entreat  
 “ you, in the most pressing manner, that I may  
 “ not be the cause of hurting him with you on  
 “ any account whatsoever [y].

HE found himself likewise at this time in some distress for want of money, which, in that season of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling : the sum, which he advanced to Pompey, had drained him : and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favorite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home ; and instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt ; so that Atticus's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support [z].

THE conduct of Dolabella was a farther mortification to him ; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in Rome, by a law, which he published, *to expunge all debts*. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious Magistrates ; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious to the peace and prosperity of

[y] Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore missæ essent, Cesarem existimare, Quintum Fratrem *litterum mea profissionis* fuisse, sic enim scripsit—ad Att. xi. 12.

[z] Velim consideres ut

fit, unde nobis suppeditentur sumtus necessarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13, 2, 22, &c.

states,

states, and sapping the very foundations of civil So- A. Urb. 706.  
ciety, by destroying all faith and credit among men [a]. Cic. 60.  
No wonder therefore that we find him taking this C. JULIUS  
affair so much to heart, and complaining so hea- C. CAESAR Dicta-  
vily, in many of his Letters to Atticus, of the tor II.  
famed acts of his Son in law, as an additional source M. ANTO-  
of affliction and disgrace to him [b]. Dolabella was NIUS Mag.  
greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and while he Equit.  
was with Caesar abroad, seems to have left his  
wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced  
to recur to her Father for her subsistence. Cicero  
likewise, either through the difficulty of the times,  
or for want of a sufficient settlement on Dolabella's  
part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it  
was usual to do at three different payments, within  
a time limited by law: he had discharged the two  
first, and was now preparing to make the third  
payment, which he frequently and pressingly re-  
commends to the care of Atticus [c]. But Dola-  
bella's whole life and character were so entirely  
contrary to the manners and temper both of Ci-  
cero and Tullia, that a divorce ensued between  
them not long after, though the account of it is  
delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what  
time, or from what side it first arose.

[a] Nec enim illa res ve-  
hementius Rempub. continet,  
quam fides; quæ esse nulla  
potest, nisi erit necessaria sol-  
lutio rerum creditarum, &c.  
de Offic. 2. 24.

[b] Quod me audis fracti-  
orem esse animo; quid putas,  
cum videoas accessisse ad supe-  
riores ægritudines pœclaras  
generi actiones?—ad Att. xi.  
12.

Etsi omnium conspectum

horreo, præsertim hoc gene-  
ro—ib. 14, 15, &c.

[c] De dote, quod scribis,  
per omnes Deos te obtestor,  
ut totam rem suscipias, & il-  
lam miseram mea culpa—

tueare meis opibus, si quæ  
sunt; tuis, quibus tibi non  
molestum erit facultatibus.  
Ib. xi. 2.

De pensione altera, oro te,  
omni cura considera quid fa-  
ciendum sit.—ib. xi. 4.

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

In these circumstances Tullia paid her Father a visit at Brundisium on the thirteenth of June: but his great love for her made their meeting only the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes; " I was so far, says he, " from taking that pleasure which I ought to " have done from the virtue, humanity, and piety of an excellent daughter, that I was exceedingly grieved to see so deserving a Creature in such an unhappy condition, not by her own, but wholly by my fault: I saw no reason therefore for keeping her longer here, in this our common affliction; but was willing to send her back to her mother as soon as she would consent to it [d]."

AT Brundisium he received the news of Pompey's death, which did not surprize him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it: " As to Pompey's end, says he, I never had any doubt about it: for the lost and desperate state of his affairs had so possessed the minds of all the Kings and states abroad, that wheresoever he went, I took it for granted that this would be his fate: I cannot however help grieving at it; for I knew him to be an honest, grave, and worthy man [e]."

THIS was the short and true character of the

[d] Tullia mea ad me venit prid. Id. Jun.—Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humilitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari.—ib. xi. 17. Ep. fam. 14. 11.

[e] De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit: tanta enim desperatio rerum ejus omnium Regum & populi- rum animos occuparat, ut quocunque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum ejus casum non dolere: hominem enim integrum & castum & gravem cognovi, Ad Att. xi. 6.

man from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened, as we sometimes find it, by the shining colors of his eloquence; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. Pompey had early acquired the surname of the Great, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him **G R E A T**; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known, in the most celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa; and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, *be bad found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire.* He was about *six years older than Caesar;* and while Caesar immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head; Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in Rome; *the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country:* for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at least had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and by fomenting the disorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Caesar made no difference of power, *wberer it was conferred or usurped: whether over those who loved, or those who feared*

A. Urb. 706.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS  
CAESAR DICTA-  
TOR II.M. ANTO-  
NIUS MAG-  
EQUIT.

A. Urb. 706. feared him ; Pompey seemed to value none but  
 Cic. 60. what was offered ; nor to have any desire to govern,  
 Cest. but with the good will of the governed. What leis-  
 C. Julius ure he found from his wars, he employed in the  
 Caesar. Dio. study of polite Letters, and especially of elo-  
 tor II. quence, in which he would have acquired great  
 M. Anto- fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more  
 nius Mag. dazzling glory of arms : yet he pleaded several  
 Equit. causes with applause, in the defence of his friends  
 and clients ; and some of them in conjunction with  
 Cicero. His language was copious and elevated ;  
 his sentiments just ; his voice sweet ; his action  
 noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were  
 better formed for arms, than the gown : for  
 though in both, he observed the same discipline,  
 a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of  
 outward behaviour ; yet in the licence of camps,  
 the example was more rare and striking. His  
 person was extremely gracefull, and imprinting  
 respect ; yet with an air of reserve and haughty-  
 ness, which became the General better than the  
 Citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than  
 great ; specious rather than penetrating ; and his  
 view of politics but narrow ; for his chief instru-  
 ment of governing was, *dissimulation* ; yet he had  
 not always the art to conceal his real sentiments.  
 As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so  
 what he gained in the Camp he usually lost in the  
 City ; and though adored, when abroad, was of-  
 ten affronted and mortified at home ; till the im-  
 prudent opposition of the Senate drove him to  
 that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which prov-  
 ed fatal both to himself and the Republic. He  
 took in these two, not as the partners, but the  
 ministers rather of his power ; that by giving  
 them some share with him, he might make his  
 own authority uncontrollable : he had no reason  
 to

to apprehend, that they could ever prove his Rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, *with the militia of the empire at their devotion*: all this was purely his own; till by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the only thing which he wanted, *arms and military command*; he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: Cicero warmly dissuaded both *bis union, and bis breach with Cæsar*; and after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of giving *bis bæstæl*: if any of these counsels had been followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honor, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: he had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, *that he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he*. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad Catastrophe of this great man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom; and the Son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the present

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 60.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTE-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

A. Urb. 706. present war : but in this ruin of his fortunes;  
 Cic. 60. what gratitude was there to be expected from a  
 Coss. Court, governed by *Eunuchs and mercenary Greeks*?  
 C. JULIVS,  
 CAESAR Dicta-  
 tor II.  
 M. ANTO-  
 NIUS Mag.  
 Equit.

all whose politics turned, not on the honor of the King, but the establishment of their own power ; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, *when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety* ? or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his Country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate : but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human Greatness, he, who a few days before commanded *Kings and Consuls, and all the nobles of Rome*, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves ; murdered by a base deserter ; cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand ; and when *the whole earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave*. His body was burnt on the shoar by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing boat ; and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife *Cornelia in a Vault of his Alban Villa*. The Egyptians however raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor Hadrian [f].

ON

[f] Hujus viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europe, tertio ex Asia triumpharet : & quot partes terrarum Orbis sunt, toti- dem faceret monumenta victorise. [Vell. P. 2. 40.] Ut ipse in concione dixit,—Asia ultimam provinciarum accepisse, medium patrise redidisse. [Plin. H. 7. 26. Flor.

3. 5.]

ON the news of Pompey's death, *Cæsar was declared Dictator the second time in his absence,*

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 60.  
Coff.

*and C. Julius*

3. 5.] Potentiae quo honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem aequalis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorum dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris glorie cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplius: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat & in voce magnum splendorem, & in motu summa dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1, 2] Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur etatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. P. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honorem eximiae frontis. [Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud sentire & loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit— ille Galliae ulterioris adjunctus—ille provinciaz propagator; ille absens in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæsarem, eundem reperente timere cooperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem— idem ego, cum jam omnes opes & suas & populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire co-

pisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram — pacis, concordie, compositionis auctor es- se non destiti: meaque illa vox ex nota multis, Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coiffes, aut nunquam diremisse! — haec mea, Antoni, & de Pompeio & de Repub. confilia fuerunt: quæ si valuerint, Repub. staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] Multi testes, me & initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare, monuisse Pompeium, & postea, ne sejungeret, &c. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] Quid vero singularis ille vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui cum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum prosecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica —cum me vidisse plus fatetur, se speravisse meliora.

[ib. 15.] Qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset; is propagatone vite quot, quantas, quam incredibilis haufat calamitates? [Tusc. disp. 1. 35.] In Pelusiaco littore, imperio vilissimi Regis, confiliis spadonum, & ne quid malis defit, Septimii desertoris sui gladio trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Aegyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tum regnabat, contulerat— Princeps Romanj nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Aegypti mancipij jugulatus est—

in

Cæsar Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

A. Urb. 706. and M. Antony his Master of the Horse, who by virtue of that post governed all things absolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundisium, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and worse to him, he says, than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the ungentleness of mind added an ill state of body [g]: yet to move nearer towards Rome without leave from his new Masters, was not thought advisable; nor did Antony encourage it; being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified: so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of Caesar's return; which made his stay in that place the more necessary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspense, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of Caesar's disposition towards him: for though all Caesar's friends assured him, *not only of pardon, but of all kind of favor*; yet he had received no intimation of kindness from Caesar himself, who was so embarrassed in Egypt, that he had no leisure to think of Italy, and did not so much as write a Letter thither from December to June: for as he had rashly, and out of gaiety,

in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, desset a sepulturam.  
Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 48.

Provida Pompeo dederat  
Campania febres  
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes,  
& publica vota

Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipsius & Urbis

Servatum victo caput abstulit.  
Juv. x. 283.

[g] Quodvis enim suppli-  
cium levius est hac permanen-  
tione.—Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix sus-  
tineo gravitatem hujus costi,  
qui mihi laborem affert, in  
dolore—ibid. 22.

as it were, involved himself there in a most desperate war to the hazard of all his fortune, he was ashamed, as Cicero says [b], to write any thing about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.

His enemies in the mean time had greatly strengthened themselves in Afric, where P. Varus, who first seized it on the part of the Republic, was supported by all the force of King Juba, Pompey's fast friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for Curio, after he had driven Cato out of Sicily, being ambitious to drive Varus also out of Afric, and having transported thither the best part of four legions, which Caesar had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, entirely defeated and destroyed with his whole army in an engagement with Sabura, King Juba's General.

Curio was a young nobleman of shining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which his Father and Grandfather had flourished before him, of one of the principal Orators of Rome. Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero: but a natural propeation to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debouchery: for Antony, who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministering to his Lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: so that, *ne boy purchased for the wife of lewdness, was more in a Master's power,*

[b] Ille enim ita videtur Nec post ius Dnae et ab Alexandriam tenere, ut cum illo datus illas litteras. Ib. scribere etiam pudeat de illis 17. abus. Ib. xi. 15.

A. Urb. yob.

Cic. 60.

Coff.

C. Julius  
Caesar Dicta-  
tor II.M. Anno-  
nius Mag.  
Equit.

them

A. Urb. 706. than *Antony* in *Curio's*. He was equally prodigal  
 Cic. 60. of his money, and his modesty ; and not onely  
 Coss. of his own, but of other people's : so that Ci-  
 C. JULIUS cero alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his  
 CAESAR Dicta- life, calls him in one of his Letters, *Mis Curio*.  
 tor II. But when the Father, by Cicero's advice, had  
 M. ANTO- obliged him by his paternal authority to quit the  
 NIUS Mag. familiarity of *Antony*; he reformed his conduct,  
 Equit. and adhering to the instructions and maxims of  
 Cicero, became the favorite of the City ; the  
 Leader of the young nobility ; and a warm af-  
 fector of the authority of the Senate, against the  
 power of the *Triumvirate*. After his Father's  
 death, upon his first taft of public honors, and  
 admifſion into the Senate, his ambition and thirst  
 of popularity engaged him in so immense a pro-  
 digality, that to supply the magnificence of *bis*  
*shows, and plays,* with which he entertained the  
 City, he was soon driven to the necessity of sell-  
 ing himself to *Cæſar*; having *no revenue left*, as  
 Pliny says, *but from the discord of bis Citizens*. For this he is confidered commonly by the old  
 writers, as *the chief instrument, and the Trumpet,*  
*as it were, of the civil war*; in which he justly  
 fell the first victim : yet after all his luxury and  
 debauch, fought and died with a courage truly  
 Roman ; which would have merited a better fate,  
 if it had been employed in a better cause : for up-  
 on the losſ of the battel, and his best troops,  
 being admonished by his friends to ſave himſelf  
 by flight, he answered, *that after loſing an army,*  
*which bad been committed to him by Cæſar,* *he could*  
*never ſhow bis face to him again* ; and ſo con-  
 tinued fighting, till he was killed among the laſt  
 of his ſoldiers [i].

CURIO'S

[i] *Hanc aliam sancta civitas tulit inde Roma.* Lucan 4.  
 314. Una

CURIO's death happened before the battel of Pharsalia, while Cæsar was engaged in Spain [k] : by which means Afric fell intirely into the hands of the Pompeians ; and became the general rendezvous of all that party : hither Scipio, Cato, and Læbius, conveyed the remains of their scattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and Petreius likewise did from Spain ; till on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæsar's, and were in such high spirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before Cæsar could return from Alexandria [l]. This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome ; and in that case, Cicero was

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 60.  
Coff.C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dieta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

Una familiâ Curionum, in qua arcis concava serie Ora-  
tores extiterant. Plin. H.

7. 41.  
Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut.  
406.

Nemo unquam puer, emp-  
tus libidinis causa, tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philipp. 2. 18.] duce filiola Curionis. [ad Att. 4. 14.]

Vix nobilis, eloquens, au-  
dax, fux alienæque & fortu-  
næ & pudicitia prodigus—  
eius animo, voluptatibus vel  
libidinibus, neque opes ullæ  
neque cupiditates sufficere  
possent. [Vell. P. 248.]

Nisi meis puer olim fide-  
lissimæ atque amantissimæ  
consiliis parvisses. [Ep. fam.  
2. 1.]

Bello autem civili — non  
alius majorem quam C. Curio

subjecit faciem—[Vell. P. 2.  
48.]

*Quid nunc Rofra tibi profant  
turbata, feruntque  
Unde Tribunis plebis signi-  
fer arce  
Arma dabas populis, &c.*

Lucan 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam amis-  
fo exercitu, quem a Cæsare  
fidei sua commissum aco-  
perat, se in ejus conspectum  
reversurum, confirmat ; at-  
que ita prælians interficitur.  
Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

[k] *Ante jaces, quam dira du-  
ces Pharsalia confert,  
Speditumque tibi bellum civi-  
de negatum est.*

Lucan ib.

[l] *Ii autem ex Africa  
jam affuturi videntur. Ad  
Att. xi. 15.*

A. Urb. 7c6. sure to be treated as a desertor; for while Cæsar  
 Cic. 60.  
 Coff.  
 C. JULIUS  
 CÆSAR Dicta-  
 tor II.  
 M. ANTO-  
 NIUS Mag.  
 Equit.

looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other side, to consider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp [m]: so that Cicero had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopes [n]; or else, that Cæsar might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred [o].

UNDER this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, that his reputation was attacked at Rome, for submitting so hastily to the Conqueror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him for not following Pompey; some more severely for not going to Afric, as the greatest part had done; others, for not retiring with many of his party to Achaea; till they could see the farther progress of the war: as he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives

[m] Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Pro Li-  
 gar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

[n] Est autem, unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit: quod nulla equidem habeo in spe: sed quia tu leviter interdum

significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est—ad Att. xi. 19. it. 12.—<sup>1</sup>

[o] Mihi cum omnia sunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut ea sola utilia mihi esse videantur, que semper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

him

him some hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, *for not following Pompey*, he says, “ that Pompey’s fate would extenuate the omission of that step: of the second, that though he knew many brave men to be in Afric, yet it was his opinion, that the Republic neither could, nor ought to be defended by the help of so barbarous and treacherous a nation: as to the third, he wishes indeed that he had joined himself to those in Achaia, and owns them to be in a better condition than himself, because they were many of them together; and whenever they returned to Italy, would be restored to their own at once:” whereas he was confined like a prisoner of war to *Brundifium*, without the liberty of stirring from it till Cæsar arrived [p].

WHILE he continued in this uneasy state, some of his friends at Rome contrived to send him a Letter in Cæsar’s name, dated the ninth of February from Alexandria, encouraging him to lay aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him: but it was drawn in terms so slight and general, that instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him only suspect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, *that it was forged by Balbus or Oppius*, on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer

[p] Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficiisci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermitti reprehensionem. — Sed ex omnibus nihil magis defideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam—

A. Urb. 7c6. Cic. 6o.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSARDicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

some little comfort to him [q]. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of Cæsar's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who asked it; and with regard to himself, *Cæsar sent Quintus's virulent Letters to Balbus, with orders to shew them to him*, as a proof of his kindness and dislike of Quintus's perfidy. But Cicero's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him suspect Cæsar the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, and bis revenge deferred only to a season more convenient: and as to bis Brother's Letters, he fancied, that Cæsar did not send them to Italy, because he condemned them, but to make bis present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body [r].

BUT after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging Letter from Cæsar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of bis former state and dignity, and bad him resume bis Fasces and stile of Emperor as before [s]. Cæsar's mind was too great to listen

to

[y] Ut me ita epistola nihil consoletur; nam & exige scripta est & magnas suspiciones habet, non esse ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligi, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset) non verum esse. Ib. 17.

[r] Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem ejus diffiri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi fascicu-

lum reddidit Balbi tabellaries —quod ne Cæsar quidem ad istos videtur mississe, quasi quo illius improbitate offendetur, sed credo, ut notiora nostra mala essent,—ib. 22.

[z] Redditæ mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare litteræ satis liberales. Ep. Fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras misit, ut essent idem, qui fuisset: qui cum ipse Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset,

esset

to the tales of the Brother and Nephew; and instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; so that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæsar's inclination, began presently to change his note, and to congratulate with his Brother on Cæsar's affection and esteem for him [t].

A. Urb. 706.  
Cic. 60.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor II.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS Mag.  
Equit.

CICERO was now preparing to send his Son to wait upon Cæsar, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought [u]; till Cæsar himself prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious residence at Brundifium, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed at Tarentum in the month of September; and on the first notice of his coming forward towards Rome, Cicero set out on foot to meet him.

We may easily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a Conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from Cæsar, yet he hardly thought his life, he says, worth begging; since what was given by a Master, might always be taken away again at pleasure [x].

Y 3

But

*esse me alterum passus est: a quo—concessis fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenebras patavi.* Pro Ligar. 3.

[t] *Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur.* Ad Att. xi. 33.

[u] *Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Cæsarem mittere*

cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio—itaque nec misso ut constitueram, Ciceronem—ib. 18.

[x] *Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam sattem mihi tanti fuisse putare*

- A. Urb. 706. But at their meeting, he had no occasion to say  
 Cic. 60. or do any thing that was below his dignity : for  
 Coss. Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to  
 C. JULIUS embrace him ; and walked with him alone, convers-  
 CÆSARDicta- ing very familiarly for several furlongs [y].  
 tor II.
- M. ANTO- FROM this interview, Cicero followed Cæsar  
 NIUS, Mag. towards Rome : he proposed to be at *Tusculum* on  
 Equit. the seventh or eighth of October ; and wrote to his  
 wife to provide for his reception there, with a  
 large company of friends, who designed to make some  
 stay with him [z]. From Tusculum he came after-  
 wards to the City, with a resolution to spend his  
 time in study and retreat, till the Republic should  
 be restored to some tolerable state ; “ having  
 “ made his peace again, as he writes to Varro,  
 “ with his old friends, his books, who had been  
 “ out of humor with him for not obeying their  
 “ precepts ; but instead of living quietly with  
 “ them, as Varro had done, committing himself  
 “ to the turbulent counsils and hazards of war,  
 “ with faithless companions [a].”

ON Cæsar's return to Rome, he appointed *P. Vatinius* and *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Consuls for the three last months of the year* : this was a very unpopular use of his new power, which he continued however to practise through the rest of his reign ; creating these first Magistrates of the State, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourse to the people, and at any time of the

tare, ut eam peterem ab illo  
 —ad Att. xi. 16.

Sed — ab hoc ipso quae-  
 dantur, ut a Domino, rursus  
 in ejusdem sunt potestate.  
 Ib. 20,

[y] Plutar. in Cic.

[z] Ep. fam. 14. 20.

[a] Scito enim me potes-

quam in urbem venerim, re-  
 diffe cum veteribus amicis,  
 id est, cum libris nostris in  
 gratiam—ignoscant mihi, re-  
 vocant in consuetudinem pri-  
 stinam, teque, quod in ea  
 permanseris, sapientiorem,  
 quam me dicunt fuisse, &c.  
 Ep. fam. 9. 1.

year; which gave a sensible disgust to the City, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner, in which he designed to govern them.

A. Urb. 7c6.

Cic. 60.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CAESAR Dict.

tor II.

M. ANTO-

NIUS Mag.

Equit.

ABOUT the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for Afric, to pursue the war against Scipio, and the other Pompeian Generals, who, assisted by King Juba, held the possession of that Province with a vast army. As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, *the Victim happened to break loose and run away from the Altar*; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, *the Aruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter solstice*: but he took ship directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as Cicero says, *came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces [b]*. Upon his leaving the City, he de-

Y 4

clared

[b] Quid ? ipse Cæsar, cum a Summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit ? quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversario- rum copiæ convenissent — de Divin. z. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem adver- sus Scipionem & Jubam non distulit — Sueton. J. Cæl. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, says, that Cæsar embarked at Lilybæum for Afric on the 6th of the Kalends of Jan. [de Bell. Afric. init.] That is, on the 27th of our December: whereas Cicero, in the passage just cited, declares him to have passed

over before the Solstice, or the shortest day. But this seeming contradiction is entirely owing to a cause already intimated, the great confusion that was introduced at this time into the Roman Kalendar, by which the months were all transposed from their stated seasons; so that *the 27th of December*, on which, according to their computation, Cæsar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the same with our 8th of October, and consequently above two months before the Solstice, or shortest day. All which is clearly and accurately explained in a learned dissertation, published by a person of eminent merit in the University

A. Urb. 707. clared himself Consul, together with M. Lepidus.  
 Cic. 61. for the year ensuing ; and gave the government of  
 Coss. the Higher Gaul to M. Brutus ; of Greece, to Servius  
 C. JULIUS Sulpicius ; the first of whom had been in arms a-  
 CAESAR III. gainst him at Pharsalia ; and the second was a  
 M. ÆMILIUS favorer likewise of the Pompeian cause, and a great  
 LEPIDUS. friend of Cicero, yet seems to have taken no part  
 in the war [c].

THE African war now held the whole Empire in suspense ; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground : but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, Cicero, despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired, and out of sight ; and whether in the City, or the Country, shut himself up with his books ; which, as he often says, *bad *biterto* been the diversion only, but were now become the support of his life* [d]. In this humor of study he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of Letters with M. Terentius Varro ; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and at Varro's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other ; of Cicero's *Academic Questions to Varro* ; of Varro's treatise on the Latin Tongue, to Cicero. Varro was a Senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit ; esteemed *the most learned man of Rome* ; and though now above fourscore years old, *yet continued still writing and publishing books to his eighty eighth year* [e].

University of Cambridge,  
 who chuses to conceal his  
 name. See Bibliothec. Li-  
 terar. N°. VIII. Lond. 1724.

4<sup>o</sup>.

[c] Brutum Galliae præfe-  
 cit ; Sulpicium Græciae. Ep.  
 fam. 6. 6.

[d] A quibus antea de-  
 lectionem modo petebamus,  
 nunc vero etiam salutem.  
 Ep. fam. 9. 2.

[e] Num M. Varronem sci-  
 rem octagesimo octavo vite  
 anno prodidisse, &c. Plin.  
 Hist. 29. 4.

He was Pompey's Lieutenant in Spain, in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of A. Ur. 70<sup>g</sup>.  
 Cranius and Petreius quitted his arms, and retired Cic. 6<sup>h</sup>.  
 to his studies; so that his present circumstances Off.  
 were not very different from those of Cicero; C. JULIUS  
 who in all his Letters to him, bewails with great CAESAR III.  
 freedom the utter ruin of the state; and proposes, M. AEMILIUS  
 " that they should live together in a strict com- LEPIDUS  
 " munication of studies, and avoid at least the  
 " fight, if not the tongues of men; yet so, that  
 " if their new Masters should call for their help  
 " towards settling the Republic, they should run  
 " with pleasure, and assist, not only as archi-  
 " tects, but even as Masons to build it up again;  
 " or if no body would employ them, should  
 " write and read the best forms of government;  
 " and, as the learned ancients had done before  
 " them, serve their Country, if not in the Se-  
 " nate and Forum, yet by their books and  
 " studies, and by composing treatises of morals  
 " and laws [f]."

In this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions*; or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an Oration so, as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, of moving and persuading an audience. It was written for the instruction of his son, now about eighteen years old, but seems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended, or not to have been finished at least to his satisfaction; since we

[f] Non deesse si quis ad-  
 libere voleret, non modo ut  
 Architectos, verum etiam ut  
 fabros, ad aedificandam Rem-  
 publ. & potius libenter accu-  
 rere: si nemo utetur opera,  
 tamen & scribere & legere

sollicitas; & si minus in ca-  
 ria atque in fore, at in lit-  
 taris & libriss, ut doctissimi  
 veteres fecerunt, navare  
 Rempub. & de moribus &  
 legibus querere. Miti hae-  
 videntur. Ep. fam. 9. 2.  
 find

A. Urb. 707. find no mention of it in any of his Letters, as of  
 Cie. 61.  
 Coss.

C. JULIUS  
 CAESAR III.  
 M. ÆMILIUS  
 LEPIDUS.

ANOTHER fruit of this leisure was his Dialogue *on famous Orators*, called Brutus; in which he gives a short character of all, who had ever flourished either in *Greece or Rome*, with any reputation of eloquence, down to his own times: and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, so an attentive reader may find in it an *Epitome*, as it were, of *the Roman History*. The conference is supposed to be held with *Brutus and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the Statue of Plato* [g]; whom he always admired, and usually imitated in the manner of his Dialogues; and in this, seems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; *Brutus, or of famous Orators*; taken from the speaker and the subject, as in Plato's piece, called *Phædon, or of the Soul*. This work was intended as a *supplement, or a fourth book to the three*, which he had before published on *the complete Orator*. But though it was prepared and finished at this time, while *Cato was living*, as it is intimated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter *Tullia*.

As at the opening of the war we found *Cicero in debt to Caesar*, so we now meet with several hints in his Letters of *Cæsar's being indebted to him*. It arose probably from a mortgage, that *Cicero had upon the confiscated estate of some Pompeian, which Cæsar had seized*: but

[g] Cum idem placuisse Platoni Statuam confidimus illis, tum in pratulo, propter —*Brut. 28.*

of what kind soever it was, Cicero was in pain A. Urb. 707.  
 for his money : " he saw but three ways, he says, Cic. 61.  
 " of getting it ; by purchasing the estate at Cæ- C. JULIUS  
 " far's auction ; or taking an assignment on the CAESAR III.  
 " purchaser ; or compounding for half with the M. ÆMILIUS  
 " Brokers or Money-jobbers of those times ; LEPIDUS.  
 " who would advance the money on those terms.  
 " The first he declares to be base, and that he  
 " would rather lose his debt, than touch any  
 " thing confiscated : the second he thought ha-  
 " zardous ; and that no body would pay any thing  
 " in such uncertain times : the third he liked the  
 " best, but defires Atticus's advice upon it [b]."

He now at last parted with his wife Terentia, whose humor and conduct had long been uneasy to him : this drew upon him some censure ; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above thirty years, the faithfull partner of his bed and fortunes ; and the mother of two Children, extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit ; expensive and negligent in her private affairs ; busy and intriguing in the public ; and, in the heighth of her husband's power, seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favors. He had easily born her perversenes in the vigor of health, and the florishing state of his fortunes ; but in a declining life, soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad, the want of ease and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him : the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties, in which her management had involved

[b] Nomen illud, quod a die : (quis erit, cui credam ?)  
 Cæsare, tres habet condicio- —aut Veleti conditionem,  
 nes ; aut emtionem ab hæsta ; semisse. *oxiθας*, igitur. Ad  
 (perdere malo :—) aut dele- Att. 12. 3.  
 gationem a mancipe, annua

him ;

A. Urb. 707. him: for she had brought him a great fortune,  
 Cic. 61. which was all to be restored to her at parting:  
 Coss. this made a second marriage necessary, in order  
 C. Julius to repair the ill state of his affairs; and his friends  
 CAESAR III. M. AEMILIUS of both sexes were busy in providing a fit match  
 LEPIDUS. for him: several parties were proposed to him,  
 and among others, a daughter of Pompey the Great; for whom he seems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop it [i]. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handsome young woman, named Publilia, of an age disproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian: but she was well allied, and rich; circumstances very convenient to him at this time; as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

" As to our giving me joy, says he, for what I have done, I know you wish it: but I should not have taken any new step in such wretched times, if at my return I had not found my private affairs in no better condition than those of the Republic. For when through the wickedness of those, who, for my infinite kindness to them, ought to have had the greatest concern for my welfare, I found no safety or ease from their intrigues and perfidy within my own walls, I thought it necessary to secure myself by the fidelity of new alliances against the treachery of the old [k]."

CAESAR

[i] De Pompeii magni scribia, puto nosti. Nihil  
 lia tibi rescripsit, nihil me vidi feedim.—ib. 12. 13.  
 hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu [4] Ep. fam. 4. 14.  
 In cases of divorce, where there

there

CÆSAR returned victorious from Africa about A. Urb. 707.  
 the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where Cic. 61.  
 he spent some days: upon which Cicero says C. JULIUS  
 pleasantly in a Letter to Varro, *he had never seen CÆSAR III.*  
*that form of his before, which, though one of the M. AMELLIUS*  
*worst that he has, he does not yet despise [1].* The LEPIDA.  
 uncertain event of the African war had kept the Senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to Cæsar, than were ever given before to man; which Cicero oft rallies with great spirit; and being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about the purchase of a House at Naples, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftner from Rome. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking, which he was apt to indulge, were in some pain, lest he should forfeit the good graces of Cæsar and his

there were children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their several estates: which is the meaning of Cicero's pressing Atticus so often in his Letters to put Terentia in mind of making her will, and depositing it in safe hands. Ad Att. vi. 21, 22, &c.: xii. 48.—

Terentia is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and three years: [Val. M. 8. 23. Plin. H. 7. 48.] and took, as St. Jerom says, for her second husband, Cicero's enemy, Sal-

lus; and Messala for her third. Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus; who was Consul in the reign of Tiberias, and valued himself for the possession of two things, which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair, in which he was killed. Dio, p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

[1] Illud enim adhuc presidium suum non inspexit: nec ullus habet deserius, sed tam non contemnit. Ep. fam. 9. 7.

favorites,

A. Urb. 707. favorites, and provoke them too far by the keenness of his raillery [m]. They pressed him  
 Cic. 61. to accommodate himself to the times; and to use  
 Coff. more caution in his discourse; and to reside more  
 C. JULIUS at Rome, especially when Caesar was there, who  
 CAESAR III. would interpret the distance and retreat which he  
 M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS. affected, as a proof of his aversion to him.

BUT his answers on this occasion will shew the real state of his sentiments and conduct towards Caesar, as well as of Caesar's towards him: writing on this subject to Papirius Paetus, he says;

“ You are of opinion, I perceive, that it will  
 “ not be allowed to me, as I thought it might  
 “ be, to quit these affairs of the City: you tell  
 “ me of Catulus, and those times; but what  
 “ similitude have they to these? I myself was

[n] Some of his jests on Caesar's administration are still preserved; which shew, that his friends had reason enough to admonish him to be more upon his guard. Caesar had advanced Laberius, a celebrated mimic actor, to the order of Knights: but when he stepped from the Stage into the Theater, to take his place on the Equestrian benches, none of the Knights would admit him to a seat among them. As he was marching off therefore with disgrace, happening to pass near Cicero, I would make room for you here, says Cicero on our bench, if we were not already too much crowded; alluding to Caesar's filling up the Senate also with the scum of his creatures, and

even with strangers and barbarians. At another time, being desired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his son the rank of a Senator, in one of the Corporate Towns of Italy, he shall have it, says he, if you please, at Rome; but it will be difficult at Pompeii. An acquaintance likewise from Laodicea, coming to pay his respects to him, and being asked, what business had brought him to Rome, said, that he was sent upon an embassy to Caesar, to intercede with him for the liberty of his country; upon which Cicero replied, if you succeed, you shall be an Ambassador also for us. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Sueton. c. 76.

“ unwilling

" unwilling at that time, to stir from the guard A. Urb. 707.  
 " of the state; for I then sat at the helm, and Cic. 61.  
 " held the rudder; but am now scarce thought Coss.  
 " worthy to work at the pump: would the Se- C. JULIUS  
 " nate think you pass fewer decrees, if I should CAESAR III.  
 " live at Naples? while I am still at Rome, and M. ÆMILIUS  
 " attend the Forum, their decrees are all drawn LEPIDUS.  
 " at our friend's house; and whenever it comes  
 " into his head, my name is set down, as if pre-  
 " sent at drawing them; so that I hear from Ar-  
 " menia and Syria of decrees, said to be made at  
 " my motion, of which I had never heard a syl-  
 " lable at home. Do not take me to be in jest;  
 " for I assure you, that I have received Letters  
 " from Kings, from the remotest parts of the  
 " earth, to thank me for giving them the title  
 " of King; when, so far from knowing, that  
 " any such title had been decreed to them, I  
 " knew not even, that there were any such men  
 " in being. What is then to be done? why as  
 " long as our *master of manners* continues here,  
 " I will follow your advice; but as soon as he is  
 " gone, will run away to your Mushrooms,  
 " &c. [n]."

IN another Letter, " Since you express, says  
 " he, such a concern for me in your last, be as-  
 " sured, my dear Pætus, that whatever can be  
 " done by art, (for it is not enough to act with  
 " prudence, some artifice also must now be em-  
 " ployed) yet whatever, I say, can be done by  
 " art, towards acquiring their good graces, I  
 " have already done it with the greatest care;  
 " nor, as I believe, without success; for I am  
 " so much courted by all, who are in any de-

[n] Ep. fam. 9. 15. *Præ-* the new Titles, which the  
ſeſtus morum, or Master of the Senate had decreed to CAE-  
publick manners, was one of SAR.

" gree

- A. Urb. 707. " gree of favor with Cæsar, that I begin to fan-  
 Cir. 61. " cy that they love me: and though real love is  
 Coll. " not easily distinguished from false, except in  
 C. JULIUS " the case of danger, by which the sincerity of  
 CAESAR III. " it may be tried, as of gold by fire; for all  
 M. AEMILIUS " other marks are common to both; yet I have  
 LEPIDUS. " one argument to persuade me, that they real-  
     ly love me; because both my condition and  
     theirs is such, as puts them under no tempta-  
     tion to dissemble: and as for him, who has  
     all power, I see no reason to fear any thing;  
     unless that all things become of course uncer-  
     tain, when justice and right are once deserted:  
     nor can we be sure of any thing, that depends  
     on the will, not to say the passion of another.  
     Yet I have not in any instance particularly of-  
     fended him, but behaved myself all along with  
     the greatest moderation: for as once I took it  
     to be my duty, to speak my mind freely in  
     that City, which owed its freedom to me; so  
     now, since that is lost, to speak nothing that  
     may offend him, or his principal friends: but  
     if I would avoid all offence, of things said  
     facetiously or by way of raillery, I must give  
     up all reputation of wit, which I would not  
     refuse to do, if I could. But as to Cæsar  
     himself, he has a very piercing judgement;  
     and as your brother Servius, whom I take to  
     have been an excellent Critic, would readily  
     say, *this verse is not Plautus's, that verse is;*  
     having formed his ears by great use, to di-  
     stinguisht the peculiar stile and manner of dif-  
     ferent Poets; so Cæsar, I hear, who has al-  
     ready collected some volumes of Apophthegms,  
     if any thing be brought to him for mine,  
     which is not so, presently rejects it: which he  
     now does the more easily, because his friends  
         " live

" live almost continually with me ; and in the A. Urb. 707.  
 " variety of discourse, when any thing drops Cic. 61.  
 " from me, which they take to have some hu- Coll.  
 " mor or spirit in it, they carry it always to him, C. JULIUS  
 " with the other news of the Town, for such CÆSAR III.  
 " are his orders : so that if he hears any thing M. ÆMILIUS  
 " besides of mine from other persons, he does not LEPIDUS.  
 " regard it. I have no occasion therefore for your  
 " example of Ænomaus, though aptly applied  
 " from Accius : for what is the envy, which  
 " you speak of ? or what is there in me to be  
 " envied now ? but suppose there was every  
 " thing : it has been the constant opinion of Phi-  
 " losophers, the onely men in my judgement,  
 " who have a right notion of virtue, *that a wise*  
 " *man has nothing more to answer for, than to keep*  
 " *himself free from guilt* ; of which I take my-  
 " self to be clear, on a double account ; be-  
 " cause I both pursued those measures, which  
 " were the justest : and when I saw, that I had  
 " not strength enough to carry them, did not  
 " think it my busines to contend by force with  
 " those, who were too strong for me. It is  
 " certain therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in  
 " what concerns the part of a good Citizen : all  
 " that is now left, is not to say or do any thing  
 " foolishly and rashly against the men in power ;  
 " which I take also to be the part of a wise man.  
 " As for the rest, what people may report to be  
 " said by me, or how he may take it, or with  
 " what sincerity those live with me, who now so  
 " assiduously court me, it is not in my power to  
 " answer. I comfort myself therefore with the  
 " consciousness of my former conduct, and the  
 " moderation of my present ; and shall apply  
 " your similitude from Accius, not onely to the  
 " case of envy, but of fortune ; which I consider  
 VOL. II. Z " as

A. Urb. 707. " as light and weak, and what ought to be re-  
 Cic. 61. " pelled by a firm and great mind, as waves by  
 C. JULIUS " a rock. For since the Greek History is full  
 CÆSAR III. " of examples, how the wisest men have en-  
 M. ÆMILIUS " dured Tyrannies at Athens or Syracuse; and  
 LEPIDUS. " when their Cities were enslaved, have lived  
 " themselves in some measure free; why may  
 " not I think it possible to maintain my rank so,  
 " as neither to offend the mind of any, nor hurt  
 " my own dignity? — &c. [o]"

PÆTUS having heard, that Cæsar was going  
*to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers*, began to be afraid for his own estate, and  
 writes to Cicero, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which Cicero answers;  
 " Are not you a pleasant fellow, who when  
 " Balbus has just been with you, ask me what  
 " will become of those towns and their lands?  
 " as if either I knew any thing, that Balbus  
 " does not; or if at any time I chance to know  
 " any thing, I do not know it from him: nay,  
 " it is your part rather, if you love me, to let  
 " me know what will become of me: for you  
 " had it in your power to have learnt it from  
 " him, either sober, or at least when drunk.  
 " But as for me, my dear Pætus, I have done  
 " enquiring about those things: first, because  
 " we have already lived near four years, by  
 " clear gain, as it were; if that can be called  
 " gain, or this life, to outlive the Republic:  
 " secondly, because I myself seem to know what  
 " will happen; for it will be, whatever pleases  
 " the strongest; which must always be decided  
 " by arms: it is our part therefore, to be con-  
 " tent with what is allowed to us: he who cannot

[o] Ep. fam. 9. 16.

" submit

" submit to this, ought to have chosen death: A. Urb. 707.  
 " They are now measuring the fields of Veiae Cic. 61.  
 " and Capenæ: this is not far from Tusculum: C. JULIUS  
 " yet I fear nothing: I enjoy it whilst I may; CÆSAR III.  
 " wish that I always may; but if it should hap- M. ÆMILIUS  
 " pen otherwise; yet since, with all my courage LEPIDUS.  
 " and philosophy, I have thought it best to live;  
 " I cannot but have an affection for him, by  
 " whose benefit I hold that life: who, if he  
 " has an inclination to restore the Republic, as  
 " he himself perhaps may desire; and we all  
 " ought to wish, yet he has linked himself so  
 " with others, that he has not the power to do  
 " what he would. But I proceede too far; for  
 " I am writing to you: be assured however of  
 " this, that not onely I, who have no part in their  
 " counsils, but even the Chief himself does not  
 " know what will happen. We are slaves to  
 " him, he to the times: so neither can he  
 " know, what the times will require, nor we,  
 " what he may intend, &c. [p]."

THE Chiefs of the *Cæsarian party*, who courted Cicero so much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Pansa, Hirtius, Dolabella: they were all in the first confidence with Cæsar, yet professed the utmost affection for Cicero; were every morning at his levee; and perpetually engaging him to sup with them; and the two last employed themselves in a daily exercise of *declamating at his house*; for the benefit of his instruction; of which he gives the following account in his familiar way to Paetus:  
 " Hirtius and Dolabella are my scholars in speaking; my masters in eating! for you have heard; I guess, how they declame with me;

[p] Ep. fam. 9. 17.

Z 2

" I sup

A. Urb. 707. “ I sup with them.” In another Letter he tells  
 Cic. 61. him, “ that as King Dionysius, when driven  
 C. JULIUS “ out of Syracuse, turned school-master at Co-  
 CÆSAR III. “ rinth, so he, having lost his kingdom of the  
 M. ÆMILIUS “ Forum, had now opened a School — to which  
 LEPIDUS. “ he merrily invites Pætus, with the offer of a  
 “ seat and cushion next to himself, as his Ush-  
 “ er [q].” But to Varro more seriously, “ I  
 “ acquainted you, says he, before, that I am in-  
 “ timate with them all, and assist at their coun-  
 “ fils: I see no reason why I should not — for  
 “ it is not the same thing, *to bear what must be*  
 “ *born, and to appreve what ought not to be ap-*  
 “ *proved.* And again; I do not forbear to sup  
 “ with those who now rule: what can I do?  
 “ we must comply with the times [r].”

THE only use which he made of all this fa-  
 vor was, to skreen himself from any particular  
 calamity in the general misery of the times; and  
 to serve those unhappy men, who were driven  
 from their country and their families, for their  
 adherence to that cause, which he himself had  
 espoused. Cæsar was desirous indeed to engage  
 him in his measures, and attach him insensibly

[q] Hirtium ego & Dolab-  
 bellam dicendi discipulos ha-  
 beo, coenandi magistres: pu-  
 to enim te audisse — illos a-  
 pud me declamitare, me apud  
 eos coenitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionysius Tyrannus,  
 cum Syracusis pulsus esset,  
 Corinthi dicitur ludum ape-  
 ruisse, sic ego — amissio reg-  
 no forensi, ludum quasi ha-  
 bere cœperim — sella tibi erit  
 in ludo, tanquam Hypodi-  
 dasculo, proxima: eam pul-

vinus sequetur. Ib. 18.

[r] Ostentavi tibi, me ictis  
 esse familiarem, & consiliis  
 eorum interesse. Quod ego  
 cur nolim nihil video. Non  
 enim est idem, ferre si quid  
 ferendum est, & probare, si  
 quid probandum non est.  
 Ib. 6.

Non defino apud istos, qui  
 nunc dominantur, coenitare.  
 Quid faciam? tempori fer-  
 viendum est. Ib. 7.

to his interests: but he would bear no part in an A. Urb. 707.  
 administration, established on the ruins of his Cic. 61.  
 country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with C. JULIUS  
 their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: CÆSAR III.  
 so that whenever he entered into their councils, M. ÆMILIUS  
 as he signifies above to Varro, it was onely when LEPIDUS.  
 the case of some exiled friend required it; for whose service he scrupled no pains of solliciting, and attending even Cæsar himself; though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, *by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber*; not indeed through Cæsar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands *all the favors of the Empire were dispensed* [s]. Thus in a Letter to Ampius, whose pardon he had procured, — “ I have sol-  
 licited your cause, *says he*, more eagerly than  
 my present situation would well justify: for  
 my desire to see you, and my constant love  
 for you, most assiduously cultivated on your  
 part, over-ruled all regard to the present weak  
 condition of my power and interest. Every  
 thing that relates to your return and safety is  
 promised, confirmed, fixed, and ratified: I  
 saw, knew, was present at every step: for  
 by good luck, I have all Cæsar's friends en-  
 gaged to me by an old acquaintance and  
 friendship: so that next to him they pay the  
 first regard to me: Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus,  
 Oppius, Matius, Postumius, take all occasions  
 to give me proof of their singular affection.  
 If this had been sought and procured by me,

[s] Quod si tardius fit nia petuntur, aditus ad eum  
 quam volumus, magnis oc- difficiliores fuerunt.—Ep.  
 cupationibus ejus, a quo om- fam. 6. 13.

A. Urb. 707. “ I should have no reason, as things now stand,  
 Cic. 61. “ to repent of my pains: but I have done no-  
 C. JULIUS  
 CÆSAR III. “ thing with the view of serving the times; I  
 M. ÆMILIUS  
 LEPIDUS. “ had an intimacy of long standing with them  
     “ all; and never gave over soliciting them on  
     “ your behalf: I found Pârisa however the  
     “ readiest of them all to serve you, and oblige  
     “ me; who has not only an interest, but au-  
     “ thority with Cæsar, &c. [i].”

BUT while he was thus caressed by Cæsar's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic: these had always looked upon him as the chief Patron of their liberty; whose counsils, if they had been followed, would have preserved it; and whose authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it: so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much crowded, as ever; since people how flocked, he says, *to see a good Citizen, as a sort of rarity* [ii]. In another Letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, “ Early in the morning, I receive the compliments of many honest men, but melancholy ones; as well as of these gay Conquerors; who shew indeed a very officious and affectionate regard to me. When these visits are over, I shut myself up in my Library, either to write or read: Here some also come to hear me, as a man of learning; because I am somewhat more learned than they: the rest of my time I give to the care of my body: for I have now bewailed my

[i] Ibid. 6. 12.

solebat, quod quasi avem albam, videntur bene sentientes  
 [ii] Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum; qua sit tem citem videre, abdo me  
 hoc etiam frequentius, quam in Bibliothecam. Ib. 7. 28.

“ country.

"country longer, and more heavily, than any A. Urb 7c7.  
"mother ever bewailed her only Son [x]."  
Cic. 61.  
Coff.

IT is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to it's liberty, or whq had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the first Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labors and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the present situation of the City, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

CÆSAR, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his usurped dominion, yet out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity: and by all the marks of personal favor, to make his life not only tolerable, but

[x] Hæc igitur est nunc  
vita nostra. Mane saluta-  
mus domi & bonos viros mul-  
tos, sed tristes, & hos lætos  
victores; qui me quidem  
per officia & per amantes ob-  
servant. Ubi salutatio de-  
fluxit, litteris me involvo,  
aut scribo aut lego. Veni-

unt etiam qui me audiunt,  
quasi doctum hominem, quia  
paullo sum, quam ipsi, doc-  
tor. Inde corpori omne  
tempus datur. Patriam e-  
luxi jam gravius & diutius  
quam illa mater unicum fi-  
lium. Ep. fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707. easy to him: yet all that he could do, had no  
 Cic. 61. other effect on Cicero, than to make him think  
 Coss. and speak sometimes favorably of the *natural*  
 C. JULIUS clemency of their master; and to entertain some  
 CÆSAR III. hopes from it, that he would one day be per-  
 M. AEMILIUS suaded to restore the public liberty: but exclu-  
 LEPIDUS. sive of that hope, he never mentions his go-  
 vernment, but as a real *Tyranny*; or his person  
 in any other stile, than as the oppressor of his  
 Country.

BUT he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporiser, by writing a book *in praise of Cato*; which he published within a few months after Cato's death. He seems to have been left a *Guardian to Cato's Son*; as he was also to young *Lucullus*, *Cato's Nephew* [y]: and this testimony of Cato's friendship and judgement of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honor to his memory. It was a matter however of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject: his friends advised him, not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praises; but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the argument too far. In a Letter to Atticus, he calls this, " an *Archimedean problem*; but I cannot hit upon any thing, says he, that those friends of yours will read with pleasure, or even with patience: besides, if I should drop the account of Cato's Votes and Speeches in the Senate, and of his political conduct in the State, and give a slight commendation onely of his constancy and gravity, even this may be more, than they will care to hear: but the man can-

[y] Ad Att. 13. 6. De Finib. 3. 2.

" not

“ not be praised, as he deserves, unless it be A. Urb. 707.  
 “ particularly explained, how he foretold all that Cic. 71.  
 “ has happened to us; how he took arms to Coll.  
 “ prevent its happening; and parted with life C. JULIUS  
 “ rather than see it happen [z].” These were CÆSAR III.  
 the topics, which he resolved to display with all M. ÆMILIUS  
 his force; and from the accounts given of the LEPIDUS.  
 work by antiquity, it appears, that he had spared  
 no pains to adorn it, but extolled *Cato's virtue*  
*and character to the skies* [a].

THE book was soon spread into all hands; and Cæsar, instead of expressing any resentment, affected to be much pleased with it; yet declared, that he would answer it: and Hirtius in the mean while, drew up a little piece in the form of a Letter to Cicero, filled with objections to *Cato's character*, but with big compliments to Cicero himself; which Cicero took care to make public, and calls it a specimen of what Cæsar's work was like to be [b]. Brutus also composed and published a piece on the same subject; as well as another friend of Cicero, Fabius Gal-

[x] Sed de Catone ~~arg~~-  
~~διαρρεα δεχιπάδιον~~ est. Non  
 assequor ut scribam, quod  
 tui convivæ non modo li-  
 benter, sed etiam ~~æquo~~ ani-  
 mo legere possint. Quin e-  
 tiam si a sententiis ejus dic-  
 tis, si ab omni voluntate,  
 consiliisque quæ de Repub.  
 habuit, recedam; ~~ψευδε~~que  
 velim gravitatem constanti-  
 amque ejus laudare, hoc ip-  
 sum ~~ἀνεργα~~ fit. Sed vere  
 laudari ille vir non potest,  
 nisi hæc ornata sint, quod  
 ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, &  
 futura viderit, & ne fierent

contenderit, & facta ne vide-  
 ret, vitam reliquerit. Ad  
 Att. 12. 4.

[a] M. Ciceronis libro,  
 quo Catonem coelo æquavit,  
 &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

[b] Qualis futura fit Cæ-  
 saris vituperatio contra lau-  
 dationem meam perspexi ex  
 eo libro, quem Hirtius ad  
 me misit, in quo colligit vi-  
 tia Catonis, sed cum maxi-  
 mis laudibus meis. Itaque  
 misi librum ad Muscam, ut  
 tuis librariis daret. Volo  
 eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att.  
 12. 40. it. 41.

lus :

A. Ueb. 707. lus. [e]; but these were but little considered in  
 Cie. 61. comparison of Cicero's; and Brutus had made  
 Coll. some mistakes in his account of the transactions,  
 C. Julius in which Cato had been concerned; especially in  
 Caesar III. the debates on Catiline's plot; in which he had  
 M. Aemilius given him the first part and merit, in derogation  
 Lepidus even of Cicero himself [d].

Caesar's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain; after the defeat of Pompey's forces. It was a labored invective; answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges [e]; yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to Pericles and Thera-  
 nes of Athens [f]: and in a Letter upon it to Balbus, which was shown by his order to Ci-  
 cero, he said, *that by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but after he had read Brutus's, thought himself even eloquent* [g].

[f] Catoenam trans mihi  
 reante. Cupio enim legere.  
 Ep. fam. 7. 24.

[g] Catoenam primum  
 serpentiam putat de amissione  
 veritate dixisse, quam ope-  
 ras arte dicerant propter  
 Caesarem, &c. Ad Att.  
 12. 22.

From this and other par-  
 ticulars, which are men-  
 tioned in the same Letter, we  
 may observe, that Sallust had  
 probably taken his account  
 of the debates upon Catil-  
 ine's *Accordicium*, from Bru-  
 tus's *Life of Cato*, and chosen

to copy even his mistakes,  
 rather than do justice to Ci-  
 cero on that occasion.

[f] Ciceronis libro.—quid  
 aliud Dictator Caesar, quam  
 rescripta oratione, velut apud  
 Judices respondit? Tacit.  
 Ann. 4. 34. 4. Quintil.  
 3. 7.

[g] Plutar. in Cic.  
 Legi epistolam: mul-  
 ta de meo Catone, quo sa-  
 difuisse legendis se dicit co-  
 piis forem faciunt; Brutus Ca-  
 tone lecto, se sibi vixim di-  
 fertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

THESE two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men, to favor the subject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the Patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course a kind of *Political test* to all succeeding ages; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty, and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigor of the Stoical rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought by it, the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was severe, intolerate, inexorable; banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favor, clemency, and compassion: in public affairs he was the same; had but one rule of policy; *to adhere to what was right*; without regard to times or circumstances, or even to a force that could control him: for instead of managing the power of the Great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; so that, *with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic*. This was his general behaviour; yet from some particular facts explained above, it appears, that his strength of mind was not always

A. Urb. 707.  
Cic. 61.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CAESAR III.  
M. AEMILIUS  
LAPIDUS.

A. Urb. 707. ways impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into measures, contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy: *when he could no longer be, what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good;* which, by the principles of his sect, was *a just cause for dying [b];* he put an end to his life, with a spirit and resolution, which would make one imagine, *that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character.* On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praised, rather than imitated [i].

As soon as Cicero had published his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called *the Orator*, at the request of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it *the fifth part or book*, designed to complete the argument of *his Brutus, and the other three, on the same subject.* It was received with great approbation; and in a Letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, *that what-*

[b] *In quo enim plura sunt, quæ secundum naturam sunt, hujus officium est in vita manere: in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium est e vita excedere.* De Fin. 3. 18.

*Vetus est enim; ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Ep. fam. 7. 3.

[i] *Cato sic abiit e vita,*

*ut causam moriundi naustum se esse gauderet.—cum vero causam justam Deus ipse deridet, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tusc. Quest. 1. 30.*

*Catoni.—moriendum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit.* De Offic. 1. 31.

*Non immaturus decepit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere.* Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.

ever

ever judgement be bad in speaking, be bad thrown A. Urb. 707.  
it all into that work, and was content to risk his Cic. 61.  
reputation on the merit of it [k]. Coff.

He now likewise spoke that famous speech of  
thanks to Cæsar, for the pardon of M. Marcellus; which was granted upon the intercession of the

C. JULIUS

CAESAR III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Senate. Cicero had a particular friendship with all the family of the Marcelli; but especially with this Marcus; who from the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, retired to Mitylene in Lesbos, where he lived with so much ease and satisfaction to himself in a philosophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his Letters, was forced to use all his art and authority to persuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which they had been laboring to obtain for him [l]. But how the affair was transacted, we may learn from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then Proconsul of Greece—“ Your condition, says he, is better than ours in this particular, that you dare venture to write your grievances; we cannot even do that with safety: not through any fault of the Conqueror, than whom nothing can be more moderate, but of victory itself, which in civil wars is always insolent: we have had the advantage of you however in one thing; in being acquainted a little sooner than you, with the pardon of your colleague Marcellus; or rather indeed in seeing how the whole affair passed; for I would have you believe, that from the begin-

[k] Ita tres erant de Ora-  
tore: quartus Brutus: quin-  
tus, Orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere  
a te probari, vehementer gau-  
deo: mihi quidem sic per-

suadeo, me quicquid habu-  
erim judicii in dicendo, in  
illum librum contulisse. Ep.  
fam. 6. 18.

[l] Ep. fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

A. Urb. 707. "ning of these miseries, or ever since the public  
 Cic. 61. "right has been decided by arms, there has  
 Coss. "nothing been done besides this with any digni-  
 C. JULIUS  
 CAESAR III. "tity. For Caesar himself, after having com-  
 M. EMILIISS. "plained of the malice of Marcellus, for  
 LEPHUS. "so he called it, and praised in the strongest  
 "terms the equity and prudence of your con-  
 "duct, presently declared beyond all our hopes,  
 "that whatever offence he had received from  
 "the man, he could refuse nothing to the inter-  
 "cession of the Senate. What the Senate did  
 "was this: upon the mention of Marcellus by  
 "Piso, his Brother Caius, having thrown him-  
 "self at Caesar's feet, they all rose up, and went  
 "forward in a supplicating manner towards Ce-  
 "sar: in short, this day's work appeared to me  
 "so decent, that I could not help fancying that  
 "I saw the image of the old republic reviving:  
 "when all therefore, who were asked their opini-  
 "ons before me, had returned thanks to Ce-  
 "sar, excepting Volcatius, (for he declared,  
 "that he would not have done it, though he  
 "had been in Marcellus's place,) I, as soon as  
 "I was called upon, changed my mind; for I  
 "had resolved with myself to observe an eternal  
 "silence, not through any laziness, but the loss  
 "of my former dignity; but Caesar's greatness  
 "of mind, and the laudable zeal of the Senate,  
 "got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks  
 "therefore to Caesar, in a long speech, and have  
 "deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occa-  
 "sions, of that honest quiet, which was my  
 "only comfort in these unhappy times: but  
 "since I have hitherto avoided giving him of-  
 "fence, and if I had always continued silent,  
 "he would have interpreted it perhaps, as a  
 "proof of my taking the Republic to be ruined,

" I shall

" I shall speak for the future not often, or ra- A. Urb. 707.  
 " ther very seldom; so as to manage at the same Cit. 51.  
 " time both his favor, and my own leisure for Coll.  
 " study [n]."

Cæsar, though he saw the Senate unanimous C. JULIUS  
 in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains CAESAR TIT.  
 to call for the particular opinion of every Senator M. AEMILIUS  
 upon it: a method never practised, except in LEPIDUS.  
 cases of debate, and where the house was divided: but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion: nor was he disappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are said in it of Cæsar, have given some handle indeed for a charge of insincerity against Cicero: but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the Senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the Republic: of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends [n]. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old

[m] Ep. fam. 4. 4.  
 [n] Sperare tamen videor,

cure & esse, ut habeamus a-  
 liquam Rem publicam. Ep.  
 Catilini, collegæ nostri, fore fam. 13. 68.

A. Urb. 707. Roman ; and no reasonable man will think it  
 Cic. 61. strange, that so free an address to a Conqueror,  
 C. JULIUS Coſt. in the heighth of all his power, should want to be  
 CAESAR III. tempered with ſome few ſtrokes of flattery. But  
 M. ÆMILIUS the following paſſage from the oration itſelf will  
 LEPIDUL. justify the truth of what I am ſaying.

“ If this, ſays he, Caſſar, was to be the end  
 “ of your immortal acts, that after conquering  
 “ all your enemies, you ſhould leave the Repub-  
 “ lic in the condition, in which it now is ; con-  
 “ ſider, I beſeech you, whether your divine vir-  
 “ tue would not excite rather an admiration of  
 “ you, than any real glory : for glory is the il-  
 “ luſtrious fame of many and great ſervices either  
 “ to our friends, our country, or to the whole  
 “ race of mankind. This part therefore ſtill re-  
 “ mains; there is one act more to be performed  
 “ by you ; to eſtablish the Republic again, that  
 “ you may reap the benefit of it yourſelf in peace  
 “ and proſperity. When you have paid this  
 “ debt to your country, and fulfilled the ends of  
 “ your nature by a ſatiety of living, you may  
 “ then tell us, if you please, that you have lived  
 “ long enough : yet what is it after all, that we  
 “ can really call long, of which there is an end ?  
 “ for when that end is once come, all paſt plea-  
 “ ſure is to be reckoned as nothing, ſince no  
 “ more of it is to be expected. Though your  
 “ mind, I know, was never content with these  
 “ narrow bounds of life, which nature has af-  
 “ ſigned to us, but inflamed always with an ar-  
 “ dent love of immortality : nor is this in-  
 “ deed to be confidered as your life, which is  
 “ comprised in this body and breath ; but that,  
 “ that, I ſay, is your life, which is to florish in  
 “ the memory of all ages : which posterity will  
 “ cheriſh, and eternity itſelf propagate. It is to  
 “ this

" this that you must attend ; to this that you A. Urb. 707.  
 " must form yourself : which has many things Cic. 61.  
 " already to admire, yet wants something still, C. JULIUS  
 " that it may praise in you. Posterity will be CÆSAR III.  
 " amazed to hear and read of your commands, M. ÆMILIUS  
 " provinces ; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile ; LEPIDUS.  
 " your innumerable battels, incredible victories,  
 " infinite monuments, splendid triumphs : but  
 " unless this City be established again by your  
 " wisdom and counsils, your name indeed will  
 " wander far and wide, yet will have no certain  
 " seat or place at last, where to fix itself. There  
 " will be also amongst those, who are yet un-  
 " born, the same controversy, that has been a-  
 " mongst us ; when some will extoll your ac-  
 " tions to the skies ; others perhaps will find  
 " something defective in them ; and that one  
 " thing above all, if you should not extinguish  
 " this flame of civil war, by restoring liberty to  
 " your country : for the one may be looked up-  
 " on as the effect of fate, but the other is the  
 " certain act of wisdom. Pay a reverence there-  
 " fore to those Judges, who will pass judgement  
 " upon you in ages to come ; and with less par-  
 " tiality perhaps than we ; since they will neither be  
 " biased by affection or party, nor prejudiced by  
 " hatred or envy to you : and though this, as  
 " some falsely imagine, should then have no re-  
 " lation to you, yet it concerns you certainly at  
 " the present, to act in such a manner, that no  
 " oblivion may ever obscure the luster of your  
 " praises. Various were the inclinations of the  
 " Citizens, and their opinions wholly divided :  
 " nor did we differ onely in sentiments and wishes,  
 " but in arms also and camps : the merits of the  
 " cause were dubious ; and the contention be-  
 " tween two celebrated Leaders : many doubted

A. Urb. 707. "what was the best; many what was convenient.  
 Cic. 61. "ent; many what was decent; some also what  
 Cog. "was lawfull, &c. [o]"

C. JULIUS CAESAR III. But though Caesar took no step towards restoring the Republic, he employed himself this summer in another work of general benefit to mankind; *the reformation of the Kalendar; by accommodating the course of the year, to the exact course of the Sun;* from which it had varied so widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all their accounts of time.

THE Roman year, from the whole institution of Numa, was lunar; borrowed from the Greeks; amongst whom it consisted of *three hundred and fifty four days*: Numa added one more to them to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the deficiency of his year to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise or *intercalated*, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of *twenty two days*, every second year, and *twenty three* every fourth, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth day of February* [p]: he committed the care of *intercalating* this month and the supernumerary day, to the College of Priests; who in process of time partly by a negligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to drop or insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to make the current year longer

[o] Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9,  
 10.

[p] This was usually called Intercalaria, though Plutarch gives it the name of Mercedonius, which none of the Roman writers mention, ex-

cept that Festus speaks of some days under the title of Mercedonias, because the Merces or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

or shorter [q]. Thus Cicero, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed, *that there might be no intercalation to lengthen his fatigue*; and when Proconsul of Cilicia, pressed Atticus to exert all his interest, to prevent any intercalation within the year; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to Rome [r]. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the Priests, to prolong the year of his Tribuneate by an *Intercalation*, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to Cæsar [s].

THIS licence of *intercalating* introduced the confusion above mentioned, in the computation of their time: so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons; the winter months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder by abolishing the source of it, the use of *intercalations*; and instead of the *Lunar* to establish the *Solar* year, adjusted to the exact measure of the Sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it set out: and as this, according to the Astronomers of that age, was supposed to be *three hundred and sixty five days, and six hours*, so he divided the days into

[q] Quod institutum perite  
z Numa posteriorum Pontificum  
negligentia dissolutum  
est. De Leg. 2. 12. vid.  
Censorin. de die Nat. c. 20.  
Macrobi. Sat. 1. 14.

[r] Nos hic in multitudine  
& celebritate judiciorum—  
ita destinemur, ut quotidie  
vota faciamus ne intercaletur.  
Ep. fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud  
præfulci atque præmuni quæso,  
ut simus anni; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5.  
13. it 9.

[s] Levissime enim, quia  
de intercalando non obtinuerat,  
transfegit ad populum &  
pro Cæsare loqui coepit. Ep.  
fam. 8. 6. Dio. p. 148.

A. Urb. 707.  
Cic. 61.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CAESAR III.  
M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS.

A. Urb. 707. twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the Sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated after every four years, between the twenty third and twenty fourth of February [t].  
 Cic. 61. Coff.  
 C. JULIUS CAESAR III.  
 M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

BUT to make this new year begin, and proceede regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, two extraordinary months, between November and December ; the one of thirty three, the other of thirty four days ; besides the ordinary intercalary month of twenty three days, which fell into it of course ; which were all necessary to fill up the number of days, that were lost to the old year, by the omission of intercalations, and to replace the months in their proper seasons [u]. All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated Astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose [x] : and a new Kalendar was formed upon it by Flavius a Scribe, digested according to the order of the Roman Festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by Kalends, Ides, and Nones ; which was published and authorized by the Dictator's Edict, not long after his return from Afric. This year therefore was the longest, that Rome had ever known ; consisting of fifteen months, or four hundred and forty five days, and is called the last of the confusion [y] ; because it introduced

[t] This day was called *Bisextus*, from its being a repetition or duplicate of the Sixth of the Calends of March, which fell always on the 24th ; and hence our Interkalary or Leap-year is still called *Bisextile*.

\* [u] Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Janua-

riis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem & Decembrem mensem adjectit duos alios : fuitque is annus—xv. mensium cum Interkalario, qui ex consuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæs. 40.

[x] Plin. Hist. N. 18. 25.

[y] Admitente sibi M. Flavio

troduced the Julian, or solar year, with the commencement of the ensuing January; which continues in use to this day in all Christian Countries, without any other variation, than that of the old and new style — [z].

A. Urb. 707.

Cic. 61.

Coff.

C. JULIUS  
CAESAR III.M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS.

SOON after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar, in the cause of Ligarius; who was now in exile on the account of his having been in arms against Cæsar, in the African war, in which he had born a considerable command. His two Brothers however had always been on Cæsar's side; and being recommended by Pansa, and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon; of which Cicero gives the following account in a Letter to Ligarius himself.

### Cicero to Ligarius.

“ I would have you to be assured, that I employ my whole pains, labor, care, study, in

vio scriba, qui scriptos dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut & ordo eorum inventi facillime posset, & invento certus status perseveraret—eaque re factum est, ut annus confusionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. Dio. 227.

MACROBIUS makes this year to consist of 443 days, but he should have said 445, since, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

[z] This difference of the old and new style was occa-

oned by a regulation made by Pope Gregory A. D. 1582. for it having been observed, that the computation of the Vernal Equinox was fallen back ten days from the time of the Council of Nice, when it was found to be on the 21st of March; according to which all the festivals of the Church were then solemnly settled; Pope Gregory, by the advice of Astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

A a 3

“ procuring

A. Urb. 707. " procuring your restoration : for as I have ever  
Cic. 61. " had the greatest affection for you, so the sin-  
Coff. " gular piety and love of your Brothers, for  
C. JULIUS " whom, as well as yourself, I have always  
CÆSAR III. " professed the utmost esteem, never suffer me  
M. ÆMILIUS " LEPIDUS. " to neglect any opportunity of my duty and ser-  
" vice to you. But what I am now doing, or  
" have done, I would have you learn from their  
" Letters, rather than mine ; but as to what I  
" hope, and take to be certain in your affair,  
" that I chuse to acquaint you with myself : for  
" if any man be timorous in great and dangerous  
" events, and fearing always the worst, rather  
" than hoping the best, I am he ; and if this be  
" a fault, confess myself not to be free from it ;  
" yet on the twenty seventh of November, when,  
" at the desire of your Brothers, I had been  
" early with Cæsar, and gone through the trou-  
" ble and indignity of getting access and au-  
" dience ; when your Brothers and relations had  
" thrown themselves at his feet, and I had said,  
" what your cause and circumstances required, I  
" came away persuaded, that your pardon was  
" certain : which I collected, not onely from  
" Cæsar's discourse, which was mild and gene-  
" rous, but from his eyes and looks, and many  
" other signs, which I could better observe than  
" describe. It is your part therefore, to behave  
" yourself with firmness and courage ; and as  
" you have born the more turbulent part pru-  
" dently, to bear this calmer state of things  
" chearfully : I shall continue still to take the  
" same pains in your affairs, as if there was the  
" greatest difficulty in them, and will heartily  
" supplicate in your behalf, as I have hitherto  
" done, not onely Cæsar himself, but all his  
" friends,

" friends, whom I have ever found most affecti- A. Urb. 7c7.  
" onate to me. Adieu. [a]" Cic. 61.

WHILE Ligarius's affair was in this hopefull  
way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with  
him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and  
knowing Cæsar to be particularly exasperated a-  
gainst all those, *who, through an obstinate aversion*  
*to him, had renewed the war in Afric,* accused  
him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal  
and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar  
privately encouraged the prosecution, and or-  
dered the cause to be tried *in the Forum*, where  
he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed a-  
gainst the Criminal, and determined to lay hold  
on any plausible pretence for condemning him:  
but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with  
all his skill in a cause, which he had much at  
heat, got the better of all his prejudices, and  
extorted a pardon from him against his will.

THE merit of this speech is too well known,  
to want to be enlarged upon here: those, who  
read it, will find no reason to charge Cicero with  
flattery: but the free spirit, which it breaths, in  
the face of that power, to which it was suing  
for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of  
the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths  
without offence; as well as of the generosity of  
the Judge, who heard them not only with pa-  
tience, but approbation.

" Observe, Cæsar, says he, with what fide-  
" lity I plead Ligarius's cause, when I betray  
" even my own by it. O that admirable clemen-  
" cy, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of  
" praise, letters, monuments! M. Cicero de-  
" fends a criminal before you, by proving him

C

[a] Ep. fam. 6. 14.

A a 4

" not

A. Urb. 707. " not to have been in those sentiments, in which  
 Cic. 61. " he own: himself to have been: nor does he  
 Coss. " yet fear your secret thoughts, or while he is  
**C. JULIUS** " pleading for another, what may occur to you  
**CAESAR III.** " about himself. See, I say, how little he is  
**M. AEMILIUS** " afraid of you. See with what a courage and  
**LEPIDUS.** " gaiety of speaking your generosity and wisdom  
 " inspire me. I will raise my voice to such a  
 " pitch, that the whole Roman people may hear  
 " me. After the war was not onely begun,  
 " Cæsar, but in great measure finished, when I  
 " was driven by ne necessity, I went by choice  
 " and judgement to join myself with those, who  
 " had taken arms against you. Before whom do  
 " I say this? why before him, who, though he  
 " knew it to be true, yet restored me to the Re-  
 " public, before he had even seen me; who  
 " wrote to me from Egypt, that I should be  
 " the same man, that I had always been; and  
 " when he was the onely Emperor within the  
 " dominion of Rome, suffered me to be the o-  
 " ther; and to hold my laurelled Fasces, as long  
 " as I thought them worth holding—[b]. Do  
 " you then, Tubero, call Ligarius's conduct  
 " wicked? for what reason? since that cause  
 " has never yet been called by that name: some  
 " indeed call it mistake, others fear; those who  
 " speak more severely, hope, ambition, hatred,  
 " obstinacy; or at the worst, rashness; but no  
 " man, besides you, has ever called it wickedness.  
 " For my part, were I to invent a proper and ge-  
 " nius name for our calamity, I should take it  
 " for a kind of fatality, that had possessed the un-  
 " wary minds of men; so that none can think it  
 " strange, that all human counsils were over-

[b] Pro Ligar. 3.

" ruled

" ruled by a divine necessity. Call us then, if A. Urb. 707.  
 " you please, unhappy ; though we can never Cic. 61.  
 " be so, under this Conqueror ; but I speak not Coff.  
 " of us, who survive, but of those who fell ; C. JULIUS  
 " let them be ambitious ; let them be angry ; M. AEMILIUS  
 " let them be obstinate ; but let not the guilt of LEPIDUS.  
 " crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged  
 " on Cn. Pompey, and on many of those who  
 " died with him. When did we ever hear any  
 " such thing from you, Cæsar ? or what other  
 " view had you in the war, than to defend  
 " yourself from injury ?—you considered it from  
 " the first, not as a war, but a secession ; not as  
 " an hostile, but civil dissension : where both  
 " sides wished well to the Republic ; yet through  
 " a difference, partly of counsils, partly of in-  
 " clinations, deviated from the common good :  
 " the dignity of the Leaders was almost equal ;  
 " though not perhaps of those, who followed  
 " them : the cause was then dubious, since there  
 " was something which one might approve on  
 " either side ; but now, that must needs be  
 " thought the best, which the Gods have fa-  
 " vored ; and after the experience of your clemency,  
 " who can be displeased with that victo-  
 " ry, in which no man fell, who was not actu-  
 " ally in arms [c]."

THE Speech was soon made public, and greedily bought by all : Atticus was extremely pleased with it, and very industrious in recommending it ; so that Cicero says merrily to him by Letter,  
 " You have sold my Ligarian speech finely :  
 " whatever I write for the future, I will make you  
 " the Publisher :" and again, " your authority,  
 " I perceive, has made my little oration famous :

[c] Ib. 6.

" for

A. Urb. 907. "for Balbus and Oppius write me word, that  
 CIC. 61. "they are wonderfully taken with it, and have  
 Off. "sent a Copy to Caesar [d]."  
 C. JULIUS which it met with, made Tuberō ashamed of the  
 CAESAR III. figure that he made in it; so that he applied to  
 M. EMILIVS Cicero, to have something inserted in his favor,  
 LEPIDUS with the mention of his wife, and some of his family, who were Cicero's near relations: but Cicero excused himself, because the speech was got abroad: nor had he a mind, he says, to make any apology for Tuberō's conduct [e].

LIGARIUS was a man of distinguished zeal for the liberty of his Country: which was the reason both of Cicero's pains to preserve, and of Caesar's averseness to restore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Caesar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began to lament, *that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour*; Ligarius, raising himself presently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied; *yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well [f]*: nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the list of the conspirators.

[d] Ligarianum præclare vendidisti. Posthac quicquid scripsero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclarae tuas tua commendavite. Scriptit enī ad me Balbus & Oppius, mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Caesarem eam se oration-

emisit misere. Ib. 19.

[e] Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, & privigna, neque possum jam addere, et enim res perulgata, neque Tuberonam volo defendere. Mirifice est enim orationis. Ib. 20.

[f] Plutarch. in Brut.

IN the end of the year, Cæsar was called away in great hast into Spain, to oppose the attempts of Pompey's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become masters again of all that Province; and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other Chiefs, who escaped, had gathered up from Afric, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger, to which he was exposed from this last effort of a broken party, shews how desperate his case must have been, if Pompey himself, with an intire and veteran army, had first made choice of this country for the scene of the war.

CICERO all this while passed his time with little satisfaction at home, being disappointed of the ease and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not easily bear with a young mother in law in the house with them. The Son especially was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to Spain, and make a Campaign under Cæsar; whither his Cousin Quintus was already gone: Cicero did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it; representing to him, that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too; and that he would not be pleased to see his Cousin more regarded there than himself; and promising withal, if he would consent to stay, to make him an ample and honorable allowance [g]. This diverted

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR  
Dictator III.  
& Consul IV.  
sine Collega.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS.  
Mag. Equit.

[g] De Hispania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi,  
me

A. Urb. 708. diverted him from the thoughts of Spain ; though  
 Cic. 62. not from the desire of removing from his Father,  
 C. Julius and taking a separate house in the City, with a  
 Caesar distinct family of his own : but Cicero thought  
 Dictator III. it best to send him to Athens, in order to spend  
 M. Aemilius a few years in the study of Philosophy, and po-  
 Lepidus lite Letters ; and to make the proposal agreeable,  
 Mag. Equit. offered him an appointment, *that would enable  
 him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman Nobility, who then resided there, Bibulus, Acidinus, or  
 Messala [b].* This scheme was accepted, and soon after executed ; and young Cicero was sent to Athens, with *two of his Father's Freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcianus,* as the Intendants and Counsellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his studies was left to the principal Philosophers of the place ; and above all, to Cratippus, the chief of *the Peripatetic Sect [i].*

In this uneasy state both of his private and public life, he was oppressed by a new and most cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia ; which happened soon *after her divorce from Dolabella* ; whose manners and humor were intirely disagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himself and his friends, *whether Tullia should not first send the divorce* ; but a pru-

me vereri vituperationem : non satis esse si haec arma reliquissimus ? etiam contraria ? deinde fore ut ange- retur, cum a fratre familiaritate & omni gratia vince- retur. Velim magis libera- litate uti mea quam sua liber- tate.—Ad Att. 12. 7.

[b] Praefabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Messalam,

quos Athenis futuros audio, majores sumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercede- bus accipietur. Ib. 32.

[i] L. Tullium Monta- num nosti, qui cum Cicerone profectus est. Ib. 52, 53.

Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cra- tippum, &c. De Off. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.]

dential

dential regard to Dolabella's power, and interest A. Urb. 708.  
with Caesar, which was of use to him in these Cic. 62.  
times, seems to have withheld him [*k*]. The C. JULIUS  
case was the same with Dolabella, he was willing CÆSAR  
enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to Dictator III.  
break with Cicero, whose friendship was a credit M. AEMILIUS  
to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to ob- LEPIDUS  
serve and reverence; since Cicero had twice de- Mag. Equit.  
fended and preserved him in capital causes [*l*]:  
so that it seems most probable, that *the divorce*  
*was of an amicable kind*; and executed at last by  
the consent of both fides: for it gave no appa-  
rent interruption to the friendship between Cice-  
ro and Dolabella, which they carried on with  
the same shew of affection, and professions of  
respect toward each other, as if the relation had  
still subsisted.

TULLIA died in childbed, *at her husband's house* [*m*]; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at least, that she died in Rome; where Cicero was *detained*, he says, *by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, who was then in Spain: she was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and supposed to be out of danger*; when an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her Father [*n*]. W<sup>z</sup>

[*k*] Te oro ut de hac mi-  
sera cogites—melius quidem  
in pessimis nihil fuit discidio  
—nunc quidem ipse videtur  
denunciare—placet mihi igi-  
tur, & idem tibi nunciam re-  
mitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23.  
vid. ib. 3.

Quod scripsi de nuncio re-  
mittendo, quæ sit istius vis  
hoc tempore, & quæ conci-

tatio multitudinis, ignoro.  
Si metuendus iratus est, quies  
tamen ab illo fortasse nasce-  
tur. Ep. fam. 14. 13.

[*l*] Cujus ego salutem du-  
obus capitum judiciis summa  
contentione defendi — Ep.  
fam. 3. x.

[*m*] Plutarch in Cic.

[*n*] Me Romæ tenuit om-  
nino Tullia mea partus: sed  
cum

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR  
Dictator III.  
M. LENTULUS  
LEPIBUS  
Mag. Equit.

We have no account of the issue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered at the end of seven months of a *puer male Child*: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying in, it is evident, that she left a Son by *Dolabella*, who survived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his Letters to Atticus, by the name of *Lentulus* [o]: desiring him to visit the Child, and see a due care taken of him, and to assign him what number of servants he thought proper [p].

TULLIA was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints, which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her Father; and to the usual graces of her sex, hav-

cum ea, quemadmodum spe-  
ro, satis firma sit, teneor ta-  
men, dum a Dolabellæ pro-  
curatoribus exigant primam  
penzionem.—Ep. fam. 6. 18.

[o] The Father's names were Publius Cornelius Len-  
tulus Dolabella; the two last  
being surnames acquired per-  
haps by adoption, and distin-  
guishing the different bran-  
ches of the Cornelian family.

[p] Velim aliquando, cum  
erit tuam commodum, Len-  
tulum puerum visas, eique de-  
mancipiis, que tibi videbitur,  
atribuas—ad Att. 12.  
28.

Quod Lentulum invisis,  
valde gratum. Ib. 30—vid.  
etiam 18.—

N. B. Mr. Bayle declares

himself surprized, to find As-  
conius Pæd. so ill informed of  
the history of Tullia, as to tell  
us, that after Piso's death, she  
was married to P. Lentulus,  
and died in child-bed at his  
house: in which short account,  
there are contained, he says,  
*two or three lies*. But Plu-  
tarck confirms the same ac-  
count; and the mistake will  
rest at last, not on Asconius,  
but on Mr. Bayle himself,  
who did not reflect, from the  
authority of those Ancients,  
that Lentulus was one of Do-  
labella's names, by which he  
was called indifferently, as  
well as by any of the rest.  
See Bayl. Diction. Artic.  
Tullia, not. k.

ing

ing added the more solid accomplishments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the best, but the most learned of the Roman Ladies. It is not strange therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortable season of his own, should affect him with all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

A. Urb. 208.  
Cic. 62.  
C. FELICE  
CAESAR  
Dictator MI.  
M. Aemilius  
Lepidus  
Mag. Equit.

PLUTARCH tells us, that the Philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; but that can hardly be true, except of those, who lived in Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company, as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's house; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, by turning over every book, which he could meet with, on the subject of moderating grief [q]; but finding his residence here too public, and a greater sore to him than he could bear, he retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium; a little island on the Latian shore, at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks; a scene of all others the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here, says he, I live without the speech of man: every morning early I hide myself in the thickest of the wood; and never come out till the evening: next to yourself, nothing is so dear to me, as this solitude: my whole conversation is with my books; yet that is

[q] Me mibi non defuisse scriptum est, quod ego immata testis es, nihil enim de domina tuta legamus. Ant. Ast. macrora inveniendo ab illo 12. 14.

" sometimes

A. Urb. 708. " sometimes interrupted by my tears; which I  
 Cic. 62. " resist as well as I can, but am not yet able to  
 C. JULIUS " do much [r]."  
 CAESAR

Dicitor III. ATTICUS urged him to quit this retirement,  
 M. AEMILIUS and divert himself with business, and the com-  
 LEPIDUS pany of his friends; and put him gently in  
 Mag. Equit. mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness: to which he makes the following answer.

" As to what you write, that you are afraid,  
 " left the excess of my grief should lessen my  
 " credit and authority; I do not know what  
 " men would have of me. Is it, that I should  
 " not grieve? that is impossible: or that I  
 " should not be oppressed with grief? who  
 " was ever less so? when I took refuge at  
 " your house, was any man ever denied access to me? or did any one ever come, who  
 " had reason to complain of me? I went from  
 " you to Astura: where those gay sparks, who  
 " find fault with me, are not able even to  
 " read so much, as I have written: how well,  
 " is nothing to the purpose; yet it is of a kind,  
 " which no body could write, with a disordered  
 " mind — I spent a month in my gardens about  
 " Rome; where I received all who came, with  
 " the same easiness as before. At this very moment, while I am employing my whole time  
 " in reading and writing, those, who are with  
 " me, are more fatigued with their leisure, than

[r] In hac solitudine caro omnium colloquio, cumque mane in filiam me abstrusi densam & asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicius solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Ib. 15.

" I wish

“ I wish my pains. If any one asks, why I A. Urk. 70<sup>8.</sup>  
 “ am not at Rome; because it is vacation time: Cie. 62.  
 “ why not in some of my villa’s, more suitable C. JULIUS  
 “ to the season; because I could not easily bear C. CESAR  
 “ so much company. I am, where he, who Dictator III.  
 “ has the best house at Baiae, chuses to be, in M. AEMILIUS  
 “ this part of the year. When I come to Rome, LEPIDUS.  
 “ no body shall find any thing amiss, either in Mag. Equit.  
 “ my looks or discourse: as to that cheerful-  
 “ ness, with which we used to season the misery  
 “ of these times, I have lost it indeed for ever;  
 “ but will never part with my constancy and  
 “ firmness, either of mind or speech, &c. {s}.”

All his other friends were very officious likewise in making their compliments of condolence, and administering arguments of comfort to him: among the rest, Caesar himself, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain, wrote him a Letter on the occasion, dated from *Hispalis*, the last of April [t]. Brutus wrote another, so friendly and affectionate, that it greatly moved him [u]. Lucceius also, one of the most esteemed writers of that age, sent him two; the first to condole, the second to expostulate with him for persevering, to cherish an unmanly and useless grief [x]: but the following Letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a master-piece of the consolatory kind.

Ser. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“ I was exceedingly concerned, as indeed I  
 “ ought to be, to hear of the death of your

[t] Ad Att. 12. 40.

[u] A Cesare litteras accepit consolatorias, datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hispali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

[x] Brutii litterae scriptae

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& prudenter & amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas assule-

runt. Ib. 12. 13.

[x] Vid. Ep. fam. 5. 13,

14.

A. Urb. 708. " daughter Tullia ; which I looked upon as an  
Cic. 62. " affliction common to us both. If I had been  
C. JULIUS " with you, I would have made it my busines  
CÆSAR  
Dictator III. " to convince you, what a real share I take in  
M. ÆMILIUS " your grief. Though that kind of consola-  
LEPIDUS. " tion is but wretched and lamentable, as it is  
Mag. Equit. " to be performed by friends and relations, who  
" are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot en-  
" ter upon their task without tears, and seem to  
" want comfort rather themselves, than to be  
" in condition to administer it to others. I re-  
" solved therefore to write to you in short, what  
" occurred upon it to my own mind : not that  
" I imagined, that the same things would not  
" occur also to you, but that the force of your  
" grief might possibly hinder your attention to  
" them. What reason is there then to disturb  
" yourself so immoderately on this melancholy  
" occasion ? consider how fortune has already  
" treated us ; how it has deprived us of what  
" ought to be as dear to us as children ; our  
" country, credit, dignity, honors. After so  
" miserable a loss as this, what addition can it  
" possibly make to our grief, to suffer one mis-  
" fortune more ? or how can a mind, after being  
" exercised in such trials, not grow callous, and  
" think every thing else of inferior value ? but  
" is it for your daughter's sake that you grieve ?  
" yet how often must you necessarily reflect, as  
" I myself frequently do, that those cannot be  
" said to be hardly dealt with, whose lot it has  
" been in these times, without suffering any af-  
" fliction, to exchange life for death. For  
" what is there in our present circumstances that  
" could give her any great invitation to live ?  
" what busines ? what hopes ? what prospect  
" of comfort before her ? was it to pass her  
" days

" days in the married state, with some young A. Urb. 708.  
 " man of the first quality? (for you, I know, Cic. 62.  
 " on the account of your dignity, might have C. JULIUS  
 " chosen what son in law you pleased out of all CÆSAR  
 " our youth, to whose fidelity you might safely Dictator III.  
 " have trusted her,) was it then for the sake of M. ÆMILIUS  
 " bearing children, whom she might have had LEPIDUS.  
 " the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in Mag. Equit.  
 " the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and  
 " rising gradually to all the honors of the state;  
 " and using the liberty, to which they were  
 " born, in the protection of their friends and  
 " clients? but what is there of all this, which  
 " was not taken away, before it was even given  
 " to her? but it is an evil, you'll say, to lose  
 " our children. It is so; yet it is much greater  
 " to suffer, what we now endure. I cannot  
 " help mentioning one thing, which has given  
 " me no small comfort, and may help also per-  
 " haps to mitigate your grief. On my return  
 " from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina to-  
 " wards Megara, I began to contemplate the  
 " prospect of the countries around me: Ægina  
 " was behind, Megara before me; Piræus on  
 " the right; Corinth on the left: all which  
 " towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie  
 " overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon  
 " this sight, I could not but think presently  
 " within myself, alas! how do we poor mortals  
 " fret and vex ourselves, if any of our friends  
 " happen to die, or to be killed, whose life is  
 " yet so short, when the carcasses of so many  
 " noble cities lie here exposed before me in one  
 " view? Why wilt thou not then command  
 " thyself, Servius, and remember, that thou  
 " art born a man? Believe me, I was not a lit-  
 " tle confirmed by this contemplation: try the

A. Urb. 708. " force of it therefore, if you please, upon  
 Cic. 62. " yourself; and imagine the same prospect be-  
 C. JULIUS " fore your own eyes. But to come nearer  
 CAESAR Dicator III. " home; when you consider how many of our  
 M. AEMILIUS " greatest men have perished lately at once;  
 LEPIDUS. " what destruction has been made in the Em-  
 Mag. Equit. " pire; what havock in all the Provinces; how  
 " can you be so much shocked to be deprived  
 " of the fleeting breath of one little woman?  
 " who, if she had not died at this time, must  
 " necessarily have died a few years after, since  
 " that was the condition of her being born.  
 " But recall your mind from reflections of this  
 " kind, to the consideration of yourself; and  
 " think rather on what becomes your character  
 " and dignity: that your daughter lived, as  
 " long as life was worth enjoying, as long as  
 " the Republic stood; had seen her Father  
 " Praetor, Consul, Augur; been married to the  
 " noblest of our youth; had tasted every good  
 " in life; and when the Republic fell, then  
 " quitted it: what ground is there then, either  
 " for you, or her, to complain of fortune on  
 " this account? In short, do not forget, that  
 " you are Cicero; one, who has been used al-  
 " ways to prescribe and give advice to others;  
 " nor imitate thoseaultry Physicians, who pre-  
 " tend to cure other people's diseases, yet are  
 " not able to cure their own; but suggest rather  
 " to yourself the same lesson, which you would  
 " give in the same case. There is no grief so  
 " great, which length of time will not alle-  
 " viate: but it would be shamefull in you to  
 " wait for that time, and not to prevent it by  
 " your wisdom: besides, if there be any sense  
 " in the dead, such was her love and piety to  
 " you, that she must be concerned to see, how  
 " much

“ much you afflict yourself. Give this therefore to A. Urb. 708.  
“ the deceased ; give it to your friends ; give it to Cic. 62.  
“ your country ; that it may have the benefit of C. JULIUS  
“ your assistance and advice, whenever there shall CÆSAR  
“ be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made Dictator III.  
“ it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to M. ÆMILIUS  
“ our present situation ; do not give any one a LEPIDUS.  
“ handle to think, that you are not so much Mag. Equit.  
“ bewailing your daughter, as the state of the times, and the victory of certain persons. I am ashamed to write any more, lest I should seem to distrust your prudence ; and will add therefore but one thing farther, and conclude. We have sometimes seen you bear prosperity nobly, with great honor and applause to yourself ; let us now see, that you can bear adversity with the same moderation, and without thinking it a greater burthen, than you ought to do : lest in the number of all your other virtues, this one at last be thought to be wanting. As to myself, when I understand that your mind is grown more calm and composed, I will send you word, how all things go on here, and what is the state of the Province. Adieu [y].”

His answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect with what he gave to all his friends ; “ that his case was different from all the examples, which he had been collecting for his own imitation, of men, who had born the loss of children with firmness ; since they lived in times, when their dignity in the state was able in great measure to compensate their misfortune : but for me, says he, after I had lost all those ornaments, which you enumerate, and

A. Urb. 708. " which I had acquired with the utmost pains,  
 Cic. 62. " I have now lost the onely comfort that was  
**C. JULIUS** " left to me. In this ruin of the Republic,  
**CAESAR**  
**Dictator III.** " my thoughts were not diverted by serving  
**M. ÆMILIUS** " either my friends or my country: I had no  
**LEPIDUS.**  
**Mag. Equit.** " sight of the Senate; took myself, as the case  
 " in truth was, to have lost all the fruit of my  
 " industry and fortunes: yet when I reflected,  
 " that all this was common to you, and to ma-  
 " ny others, as well as to myself; and was forc-  
 " ing myself therefore to bear it tolerably; I  
 " had still in Tullia, somewhat always to recur  
 " to, in which I could acquiesce; and in whose  
 " sweet conversation I could drop all my cares  
 " and troubles: but by this last cruel wound,  
 " all the rest, which seemed to be healed, are  
 " broken out again afresh: for as I then could  
 " relieve the uneasiness, which the Republic  
 " gave me, by what I found at home; so I  
 " cannot now, in the affliction, which I feel at  
 " home, find any remedy abroad; but am dri-  
 " ven, as well from my house, as the Forum;  
 " since neither my house can ease my public  
 " grief, nor the public my domestic one [z]."

THE remonstrances of his friends had but lit-  
 tle effect upon him; all the relief that he found,  
 was from reading and writing, in which he con-  
 tinually employed himself; and did what no  
 man had ever done before him, draw up a treatise  
 of consolation for himself; from which he pro-  
 fesses to have received his greatest comfort;  
 " Though he wrote it, he owns, at a time,  
 " when in the opinion of the Philosophers, he  
 " was not so wise, as he ought to have been:

[z] Ep. fam. 4 & it. ad Att. 12. 28.

" but

“ but I did violence, *says he*, to my nature ; to A. Urb. 708.  
 “ make the greatness of my sorrow give place Cic. 62.  
 “ to the greatness of the medicine ; though I C. JULIUS  
 “ acted against the advice of Chrysippus, who CÆSAR  
 “ dissuades the application of any remedy to Dictator III.  
 “ the first assaults of grief [a].” In this work M. ÆMILIUS  
 he chiefly imitated Crantor, *the Academic*, who LEPIDUS.  
 had left a celebrated piece on the same subject ;  
*yet be inserted also whatever pleased him, from any*  
*other Author who had written upon it [b]* ; illus-  
 trating his precepts all the way, by examples  
 from their own history, *of the most eminent Ro-*  
*mans of both sexes, who had born the same mis-*  
*fortune with a remarkable constancy.* This book  
 was much read by *the primitive Fathers*, espe-  
 cially *Latantius* ; to whom we are obliged for  
 the few fragment's, which remain of it : for, as  
 the Critics have long since observed, that piece,  
 which we now see in the collection of his writ-  
 ings, under the title of *Consolation*, is undoubt-  
 edly spurious.

[a] Feci, quod ante me  
 nemo, ut ipse me per litteras  
 consolarer — affirmo tibi  
 nullam consolationem esse  
 talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it.  
 ib. 28.

Quid ego de consolatione  
 dicam ? quæ mihi quidem  
 ipsi sane aliquantum mede-  
 tur, cæteris item multum il-  
 lè profuturam puto. De  
 Div. 2. 1.

In consolationis libro, quem  
 in medio, (non enim sapien-  
 tes eramus) moerore & dolore  
 conscripsimus : quodque ve-  
 lat Chrysippus, ad recentes

quasi tumores animi reme-  
 dium adhibere, id nos feci-  
 mus, naturæque vim adulici-  
 mus, ut magnitudini me-  
 dicinæ doloris magnitudo  
 concederet. Tus. Disp. 4.  
 29.

[b] Crantorem sequor.  
 Plin. Præf. Hist. N.

Neque tamen progredior  
 longius, quam mihi doctissimi  
 homines concedunt, quo-  
 rum scripta omnia, quæcumque  
 sunt in eam sententiam  
 non legi solum — sed in mea  
 etiam scripta transtuli. Ad  
 Att. 12, 21, it. 22.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

C. JULIUS

CAESAR

Dictator III.

M. AEMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

But the design of this treatise was, not one-  
 ly to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate  
 the virtues and memory of Tullia to all posse-  
 rity: not did his fondness for her stop here;  
 but suggested the project of a more effectual  
 consecration, by building a Temple to her, and  
 erecting her into a sort of Deity. It was an op-  
 nion of the Philosophers, which he himself con-  
 stantly favored, and in his present circumstances  
 particularly indulged, " that the souls of men  
 " were of heavenly extraction; and that the  
 " pure and chaste, at their dissolution from the  
 " body, returned to the fountain from which  
 " they were derived, to subsist eternally in the  
 " fruition and participation of the Divine Na-  
 " ture; whilst the impure and corrupt were left  
 " to grovel below in the dirt and darkness of  
 " these inferior regions." He declares there-  
 fore, " that as the wisdom of the ancients had  
 " consecrated and deified many excellent per-  
 " sons of both sexes, whose Temples were then  
 " remaining; the progeny of Cadmus; of Am-  
 " phitryon; of Tyndarus; so he would perform  
 " the same honor to Tullia; who, if any crea-  
 " ture had ever deserved it, was of all the most  
 " worthy of it. I will do it therefore, says he,  
 " and consecrate thee, thou best and most learn-  
 " ed of women, now admitted into the assem-  
 " bly of the Gods, to the regard and venera-  
 " tion of all mortals [c]."

IN

[c] Noh enim omnibus il-  
 li sapientes arbitrati sunt e-  
 undem cursum in celum pa-  
 terit. Nam virtus & sceleris-  
 bus contaminatos deprimi in-  
 tenceras, atque in celo ja-

cere docuerunt; castos autem  
 animos, puros, integros, in-  
 corruptos, boni etiam studiis  
 atque artibus expeditos leni  
 quodam ac faciliter lapsu ad  
 Deos, id est, ad naturam sui  
 similem

In his Letters to Atticus we find the strongest expressions of his resolution, and impatience to see this design executed : “ I will have a Temple, says he, it is not possible to divert me from it — if it be not finished this summer, I shall not think myself clear of guilt — I am more religiously bound to the execution of it, than any man ever was to the performance of his vow [d].” He seems to have designed a Fabric of great magnificence ; for he had settled the plan with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of Chian marble, with a sculptor of that Isle ; where both the work and the materials were the most esteemed of any in Greece [e]. One reason, that determined him to a Temple, rather than a Sepulchre, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expense, whereas in the other he was confined by law to a certain sum,

similem per volare — Fragm.  
Consolat. ex Lactantio —

Cum vero & mares & sominas compleures ex hominibus in Deorum numero esse videamus, & eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima tempia veneremus, affentiamur eorum sapientiae, quorum ingenii & inventis omnem vitam logibus & institutis excaltam constitutamque habemus. Qued si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in eorum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem bonus certe dicandus est. Qued quidem faciam ; neque omnium optimam doctissimamque, ap-

probantibus Dilectis ipsis, in eorum causa locatam, ad episcopalem omnia mortalia consecrabo. Ib. — vid. Tusc. Disp. 1.1. c. xi. 12, 36, 31.

[d] Fanum fieri vole, neque mihi cui potest. [M Att. 12. 36.] Redeo ad Fanum, nisi hac res fas absolutum erit — sochore me libera- tum non putabo. [ib. 41.] Ego me maiore religione, quam quisquam fuit ullius voti, obstrictum poso. Ib. 49.

[e] De Fano illo dico — neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cleatii. [ib. 18.] Tu tamen tam Apella Chio coacice de columnis. [ib. 19.] vid. Plin. Hist. N. 36. 5, 6.

which

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

C. JULIUS

C. CESAR

Dicitator III.

M. AEMILIUS

LAPIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. which he could not excede, without the forfeiture of the same summ also to the public : yet  
 Cic. 62. C. JULIUS this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive,  
 CÆSAR. Dictator III. but a resolution, that he had taken, of making  
 M. ÆMILIUS *a proper apotbeosis [f]*. The only difficulty  
 LEPIDUS.  
 Mag. Equit. was,

[f] Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumtam in monumentum esset, quam nescio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum esse : quod non magnopere moveret, nisi nescio quomodo, *alibi* fortasse. Nolle illud ullo nomine nisi Fanii appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo, quam ut maxime aequar asperitionem. Ib. 36.

This fact seems to confirm what the Author of the book of *Wisdom* observes on the origin of Idolatry : that it was owing to the fond affection of Parents, seeking to do honor to their deceased children. *The Father*, says he, oppressed with an unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a God, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependents. [Wisd. xiv. 15.] But it was not Cicero's real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a Deity : he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay divine

honors to dead mortals ; and tells us, how their very *PUBLICANS* had decided that question in *Bæotia* : for when the lands of the *Immortal Gods* were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the *Censors*, they denied, that any one could be deemed an immortal God, who had once been a man ; and so made the lands of *Amphiaraus* and *Troponius* pay the same taxes with the rest. [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19.] Yet in a political view he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior Gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the Soul's Immortality : [de Leg. 2. xi.] And since a Temple was the most ancient way of doing honor to those dead, who had deserved it ; [Plin. Hist. 27.] he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praises of *Tullia* ; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those Ancients, who had polished and civilized human life, by consecrating

was, to find a place that suited his purpose: his A. Urb. 708.  
 first thought was to purchase certain gardens across Cic. 62.  
 the Tyber, which lying near the city, and in the C. JULIUS  
 public view, were the most likely to draw a re- CÆSAR  
 sort of votaries to his new Temple: " he pref- Dictator III.  
 " ses Atticus therefore to buy them for him at M. ÆMILIUS  
 " any rate, without regard to his circumstances; LEPIDUS  
 " since he would sell, or mortgage, or be con- Mag. Equit.  
 tent to live on little, rather than be disap-  
 pointed: Groves and remote places, *he says,*  
 " were proper onely for Deities of an establish-  
 ed name and religion; but for the deification  
 " of mortals, public and open situations were  
 " necessary, to strike the eyes, and attract the  
 " notice of the people." But he found so many obstructions in all his attempts of purchasing,  
 that to save trouble and expence, Atticus advised  
 him, *to build at least in one of his own villa's;* to  
 which he seemed inclined, left the summer  
 should pass without doing any thing: yet he was  
 irresolute still, which of his villa's he should  
 chuse; and discouraged, by reflecting on the  
*change of masters,* to which all private estates  
 were exposed, in a succession of ages; which  
 might defeat the end of his building, and de-  
 stroy the honor of his Temple; by converting  
 it to other uses, or suffering it to fall into  
 ruins [g].

## BUT

consecrating such patterns of  
 virtue to the veneration of  
 their fellow Citizens. Vid.  
 Mongault. Not. i. ad Att.  
 12. 18.

[g] Sed ineunda nobis ra-  
 tio est, quemadmodum in  
 omni mutatione dominorum,  
 qui innumerabiles fieri pos-

sunt in infinita posteritate —  
 illud quash consecratum re-  
 manere possit. Evidem jam  
 nihil ego vestigalibus, &  
 parvo contentus esse possum.  
 Cogito interdum trans Tibi-  
 sima hortos aliquos parare,  
 & quidem ob hanc causam  
 maxime; nihil enim video  
 quod

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 6s.  
C. JULIUS  
CESAR  
Dictator III.  
M. AEMILIUS  
Lepidus.  
Mag. Equit.

But after all his eagerness and solicitude about this Temple, it was never actually built by him; since we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been erected [b]. It is likely, that as his grief evaporated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to consider his project more philosophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any lasting glory from such monuments, which time itself, in the course of a few ages, must necessarily destroy: it is certain at least, that as he made no step towards building it this summer, so Caesar's death, which happened before the next, gave fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not still wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to set apart a fund for it [:]; yet in the short and busy scene

quod tam celebre esse posset.  
[ad Att. 12. 19.] De mortis,  
etiam atque etiam te rogo.  
[ib. 22.] Ut sepe locuti sumus,  
communationes dominorum reformatio.  
[ib. 36.] Celebratissimum requiro. ib. 37.

[b] Caelius Rhodiginus tells us, that in the time of Sixtus the 4th, there was found near Rome on the Appian way, over-against the Tomb of Cicero, the body of a woman, whose hair was dressed up in network of gold, and which, from the inscription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was entire, and so well preserved by spicula, as to have suffered no injury from time;

yet when it was removed into the City, it mouldered away in three days. But this was only the hasty conjecture of some learned of that time, which, for want of authority to support it, soon vanished of itself; for no inscription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any sepulchre of Cicero, on the Appian way — vid. Cnl. Rhod. Lelijon. antiqu. l. 3. c. 24.

[c] Quod ex istis fractis nos  
sebus exceptum sit, id ego  
ad illud facuum seputum pa-  
tabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

of life, which remained to him, he never had leisure enough to carry it into execution.

He was now grown so fond of solitude, that all company was become uneasy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the Father in law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at it, from the apprehension of being teased with his visits; and he tells Atticus, with some pleasure, that he had called upon him *anxius* to pay a short compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble [k]. His wife Publilia also wrote him word, that her Mother and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that she would come along with them, if he would give her leave; which she begged in the most earnest and submissive terms — but his answer was, that he was more indisposed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come: and lest they should come without leave, he desires Atticus to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them [l]. A detail so peremptory confirms what Plutarch says, that his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for seeming to rejoice at her death: a crime, which, in the tendernails of his affliction, appeared to

[k] Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac solitudine, quam vereat, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim vesperi venosus.  
Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me salutavit, statim Romanum profectus est. Ib. 18.

[l] Publilia ad me scripsit, matrem suam cum Pub-

lilio ad me venturam, & se una, si ego paterem: ut multis & supplicibus verbis ut licet, & ut sibi rescribam —— rescripsi, me etiam gravius esse affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixisset, me solum esse uelle, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire —— ac hoc nuac rogo at explores. Ib. 32.

him

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
C. JULIUS  
CESAR  
Dictator III.  
M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS.  
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. him so heinous, that he could not bear the  
 Cic. 62. thoughts of seeing her any more; and though it  
 C. JULIUS was inconvenient to him, to part with her for-  
 CESAR tune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a  
 Dicitator III. divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honor of  
 M. AEMILIUS Tullia [m].  
 LEPIDUS.  
 Mag. Equit.

BRUTUS likewife about this time took a resolu-  
 tion of putting away his wife Claudia, for the  
 sake of taking Porcia, Bibulus's widow, and his  
*Uncle Cato's daughter*. But he was much cen-  
 sured for this step; since Claudia had no stain  
 upon her character; was nobly born; the Sister  
 of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey;  
*so that his Mother Servilia*, though Cato's  
 Sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce,  
 and strongly in the interests of Claudia, against  
 her Niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, *that if*  
*Brutus was resolved upon the thing, he should do it*  
*out of band*, as the best way to put an end to  
 people's talking; by shewing, that it was not  
 done out of levity or complaisance to the times,  
 but to take *the daughter of Cato*, whose name  
 was now highly popular [n]: which Brutus soon  
 after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

THERE happened another accident this sum-  
 mer, which raised a great alarm in the City;  
*the surprizing death of Marcellus*, whom Caesar

[m] This affair of Publilia's divorce is frequently re-  
 ferred to, though with some  
 obscurity, in his Letters; and  
 we find Atticus employed by  
 him afterwards to adjust with  
 the Brother Publilius, the  
 time and manner of paying  
 back the fortune. Vid. ad  
 Att. 13. 34, 47: 16. 2.

[n] *A te exspecto si quid*

de Bruto: quanquam Nicias  
 confectum putabat, sed di-  
 vortium non probari.— Ad  
 Att. 13. 9.

Brutus si quid—curabis ut  
 sciām. Cui quidem quam  
 primum agendum puto, prae-  
 fertim si statuit; fermancu-  
 lum enim omnem aut resti-  
 xerit aut sodarit. Ib. 10.

had

had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, A. Urb. 708.  
 and was come as far as Piræus, on his way to- Cic. 62.  
 wards Rome; where he spent a day, with his C. JULIUS  
 old friend and colleague, Serv. Sulpicius, intend- CÆSAR  
 ing to pursue his voyage the day following by Dictator III.  
 sea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken M. ÆMILIUS  
 leave of him, on the twenty-third of May, he LEPIDUS.  
 was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who Mag. Equit.  
*stabbed himself instantly, with the same poignard:*  
 of which Sulpicius sent the following account to Cicero.

Serv. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“ THOUGH I know that the news, which I  
 “ am going to tell you, will not be agreeable,  
 “ yet since chance and nature govern the lives  
 “ of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint  
 “ you with the fact, in what manner soever it  
 “ happened. On the twenty-second of May I  
 “ came by sea from Epidaurus to Piræus, to  
 “ meet my colleague Marcellus, and for the sake  
 “ of his company, spent that day with him  
 “ there. The next day, when I took my leave  
 “ of him, with design to go from Athens into  
 “ Boeotia, to finish the remaining part of my  
 “ jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to  
 “ set sail at the same time towards Italy. The  
 “ day following, about four in the morning,  
 “ when I was preparing to set out from Athens,  
 “ his friend, P. Postumius, came to let me  
 “ know, that Marcellus was stabbed by his  
 “ companion P. Magius Cilo after supper, and  
 “ had received two wounds, the one in his sto-  
 “ mach, the other in his head near the ear,  
 “ but he was in hopes still, that he might live;  
 “ that Magius presently killed himself; and  
 “ that

A. Urb. 708. " that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the  
 Cic. 62. " case, and to desire, that I would bring some  
 C. JULIUS " Physicians to him. I got some together im-  
 CÆSAR " mediately, and went away with them before  
 Dictator III. " break of day: but when I was come near Pi-  
 M. EMILIVS. " raeus, Acidinus's boy met me with a note  
 LEPIDUS. " from his master, in which it was signified, that  
 Mag. Equit. " Marcellus died a little before day. Thus a  
 " great man was murthered by a base villain;  
 " and he, whom his very enemies had spared  
 " on the account of his dignity, received his  
 " death from the hands of a friend. I went  
 " forward however to his tent, where I found  
 " two of his freedmen, and a few of his slaves;  
 " all the rest, they said, were fled, being in a  
 " terrible fright, on the account of their master's  
 " murther. I was forced to carry his body with  
 " me into the City, in the same litter in which  
 " I came, and by my own servants: where I  
 " provided a funeral for him, as splendid as the  
 " condition of Athens would allow. I could  
 " not prevail with the Athenians, to grant a  
 " place of burial for him within the City; they  
 " said, that it was forbidden by their religion,  
 " and had never been indulged to any man:  
 " but they readily granted, what was the most  
 " desirable in the next place, to bury him in  
 " any of their public Schools, that I pleased. I  
 " chose a place therefore, the noblest in the U-  
 " niverse, *the School of the Academy*, where I  
 " burnt him; and have since given orders, that  
 " the Athenians should provide a Marble Mo-  
 " nument for him in the same place. Thus I  
 " have faithfully performed to him, both when  
 " living and dead, every duty, which our part-  
 " nership in office, and my particular relation  
 " to

" to him required. Adieu. The thirtieth of A. Urb. 7c8.  
 " May from Athens [o]."

Cic. 62.

C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS  
Mag. Equit.

M. MARCELLUS was the head of a family, which, for a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in Rome; and was himself adorned with all the virtues, that could qualify him to sustain that dignity, which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the Bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to Cicero *bimself*, in the character of a complete Speaker. His manner of speaking was elegant, strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and luster to every thing that he said. He was a constant admirer and imitator of Cicero; of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war; so that Cicero laments his absence, as the loss of a companion and partner, in their common studies and labors of life. Of all the Magistrates, he was the fiercest opposer of Cæsar's power, and the most active to reduce it: his high spirit, and the ancient glory of his house, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a master; and when the battel of Pharsalia seemed at last to have imposed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning; there to spend the rest of his days in a studious retreat; remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to seek, nor to accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here Brutus paid him a visit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, *as perfectly easy and happy under all the misery of the times, from the*

[o] Ep. fam. 4. 12.

VOL. II.

Cc

consciousness

- A. Urb. 708. consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; surrounded with the principal Scholars and Philosophers of Greece, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge: so that in departing from him towards Italy, he seemed, he said, to be going himself into exile, rather than leaving Marcellus in it [p].
- Cic. 62. Coff.
- C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III.
- M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

MAGIUS, who killed him, was of a family which had born some of the publick offices, and had himself been *Questor* [q]; and having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known.

[p] Mihi, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es similem tui—ita est, & vehementer placet. Nam & didicit, & omisso cæteris studiis id egit unum, seque quotidiani commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque & lectis utitur verbis & frequentibus; & splendore vocis, dignitate motus fit speciosum & illustre, quod dicitur; omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deceat virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conscripti,—illo simul atque imitatore studiorum meorum, quasi quadam socio a me & comite distracto—quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut

ullo genere laudis praestans?—pro Marcel. 1.

Nostrî enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipso—in hoc communi nostro & quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam usurpatione ac renovatione doctrine. Vidi eam Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo videbam; tum vero nunc doctissimo viro, tibique ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo, instratum omni copia, multo videbam similiorem. Brut. ibid. vid. Senec. Consolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

[q] Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

Cicero's conjecture was, that *Magius*, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging *Marcellus*, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his Patron [r]. Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favored by *Marcellus*, than himself [s].

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor III.  
M. EMILIIUS  
LEPIDUS  
Mag. Equit.

As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation: and from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on *Cæsar*, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of so illustrious a Citizen, every man began to think himself in danger: Cicero was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it, as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and Atticus signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only consular Senator left, who stood exposed to any envy [t]. But *Cæsar's* friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of *Magius*.

[r] Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, nisi iphi Magio quæ fuerit causa amentiae. Pro quo quidem etiam Sponsor Sunii factus est. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petuisse aliquid, & illam, ut erat, confitantius respondisse. Ad Att. 13. 10.

[s] Indignatus aliquem a-

micorum ab eo sibi preferri.  
Val. Max. 9. 11.

[t] Minime miror te & graviter ferre de Marcello, & plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere posset. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor III.

M. AEMILIUS

LEPIDUS

Mag. Equit.

THERE appeared at this time a bold Impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be *the Grandson of Caius Marius*: but apprehending that Cæsar would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic Letter to Cicero, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; conjuring him, by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praise of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's Father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause: Cicero answered him very gravely, that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinsman Cæsar, so excellent and generous a man, was now the Master of all; yet that he also should be ready to favor him [u]. But Cæsar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since instead of being, what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a Farrier, whose true name was Herophilus [x].

ARIARATHES, the Brother and presumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, came

[u] Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me manda-  
ta & litteras attulerunt, a C.  
Mario, C. F. C. N. multis  
verbis agere mecum per cog-  
nationem, que mihi secum  
esset, per eum Marium, quem  
scripsisse, per eloquentiam  
L. Crassi avi sui, ut se defen-  
derem—rescripti nihil ei Pa-  
tronso opus esset, quoniam Cæ-  
sar, propinquus ejus, omnis  
potestas esset, viri optimi &

hominis liberalissimi : me tra-  
men ei faturum — ad Att.  
12. 49.

[x] Herophilus Equarius  
medicus, C. Marium septies  
Confusilem avum fibi vendi-  
cando, ita se extulit, ut col-  
loniae veteranorum complures  
& municipia splendida, col-  
legique fere omnia patro-  
num adoptarent — ceterum  
decreto Cæsaris extra Italiam  
relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

to Rome this year; and as Cicero had a particular friendship with his family, and, when Consul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of the *Regal Title*, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, *and invite him to his house*: but he was already engaged by Sestius, whose office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Embassadors at the public expence; which Cicero was not displeased with in the present state of his domestic affairs: *be comes, says he, I guess, to purchase some kingdom of Caesar, for he has not at present a foot of land of his own [y].*

A. Urb. 701.  
Cic. 62.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CAESAR Dic-  
tator III.  
M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS  
Mag. Bquit.

CICERO's whole time during his solitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the business both of his days and nights: *it is incredible, he says, how much he wrote, and how little he slept: and if he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, he should not have known what to do with himself [z].* His studies were chiefly Philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great ardor; having taken a resolution, to explain to his Countrymen in their own language, whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of Philosophy whether speculative or

[y] Ariarathes Ariobarzani filius Romanum venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Caesare: nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Ominus eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Verumtamen quod mihi, summo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius necessi-

tudo est, invito eum per litteras, ut apqd me diveretur.  
Ad Att. 13. 2.

[z] Credibile non est, quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim somni. Ib. 26.

Nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quae, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708 practical: " For being driven, as he tells us,  
 Cic. 62. " from the public administration, he knew no  
 Coss. " way so effectual of doing good, as by instruct-  
 C. JULIUS  
 CAESAR Dic-  
 tator III. " ing the minds, and reforming the morals of  
 M. AEMILIUS " the youth; which, in the licence of those  
 LEPIDUS " times, wanted every help to restrain and cor-  
 Mag. Equit. " rect them. The calamity of the City, *says he*,  
 " made this task necessary to me: since, in the  
 " confusion of civil arms, I could neither de-  
 " fend it after my old way; nor, when it was  
 " impossible for me to be idle, could I find any  
 " thing better, on which to employ myself. My  
 " Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank  
 " me; that when the government was fallen in  
 " to the power of a single person, I neither  
 " wholly hid, nor afflicted myself unnecessarily;  
 " nor acted in such a manner, as to seem angry  
 " at the man, or the times; nor yet flattered or  
 " admired the fortune of another so, as to be  
 " displeased with my own. For I had learnt  
 " from Plato and Philosophy, that these turns  
 " and revolutions of states are natural; some-  
 " times into the hands of *a few*, sometimes of  
 " *the many*, sometimes of *one*: as this was the  
 " case of our own Republic, so when I was de-  
 " prived of my former post in it, I betook my-  
 " self to these studies, in order to relieve my  
 " mind from the sense of our common miseries,  
 " and to serve my country at the same time in  
 " the best manner that I was able: for my books  
 " supplied the place of my votes in the Senate;  
 " and of my speeches to the people; and I took  
 " up philosophy, as a substitute for my manage-  
 " ment of the state [a]."

[a] Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

He now published therefore, in the way of A. Urb. 708,  
 dialogue, a book, which he called Hortensius, Cic. 62.  
 in honor of his deceased friend: where in a de- C. JULIUS  
 bate of learning he did, what he had often done CÆSAR.Dicta-  
 in contests of the Bar, undertake the defence of tor III.  
*Pbilosophy against Hortensius, to whom be assigned M. ÆMILIUS*  
*the part of arraigning it [b].* It was the reading LEPIDUS  
 of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which Mag. Equit.  
 first inflamed St. Austin, as he himself somewhere  
 declares, *to the study of the Christian Pbilosophy:*  
 and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it  
 was to the world, that it once subsisted, to be  
 the instrument of raising up so illustrious a con-  
 vert and champion to the Church of Christ [c].

He drew up also about this time in four books,  
 a particular account and defence of the Pbilosophy  
 of the Academy; the sect, which he himself fol-  
 lowed; being, as he says, *of all others, the most  
 consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well  
 as most elegant [d].* He had before published  
 a work on the same subject in two books; the

[b] Cohortati sumus, ut  
 maxime potuimus, ad Philo-  
 sophiæ studium eo libro, qui  
 est inscriptus, Hortensius—  
 de Div. 2. 1.

Nos autem universæ Phi-  
 losophiæ vituperatoribus re-  
 spondimus in Hortensio.  
 Tuic. Disp. 2. 2.

[c] It is certain, that *all the Latin Fathers made great use of Cicero's writings;* and es-  
 pecially Jerom, who was not  
 so grateful as Austin, in ac-  
 knowledging the benefit;  
 for, having conceived some  
 scruples on that score in his  
 declining age, he endeavour-

ed to discourage his disciples  
 from reading them at all;  
 and declared, *that he had not  
 taken either Cicero or Marc,*  
*or any heathen writer into his  
 bands for above fifteen years:*  
 for which his adversary Ruf-  
 finus rallies him very severe-  
 ly. Vid. Hieron. Op. Tom.  
 4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1.  
 p. 288. Edit. Benedict.—

[d] Quod genus philo-  
 phandi minime arrogans,  
 maximeque & constans, & e-  
 legans arbitramur, quatuor  
 Academicis libris ostendimus.  
 De Divin. 2. 1.

A. Urb. 704. one called Catulus, the other Lucullus : but considering, that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers ; who were not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus : Cic. 58. Coff.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR Dictator III.

M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS Mag. Equit.

*Varro had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four books, which he addressed to Varro ; taking upon himself the part of Philo, of defending the principles of the Academy ; and assigning to Varro that of Antiochus ; of opposing and confuting them ; and introducing Atticus, as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy ; so as to make it a present worthy of Varro ; and if he was not deceived, he says, by a partiality, and self-love too common in such cases, there was nothing on the subject equal to it, even among the Greeks [e]. All these four books, excepting part of the first, are now lost ; whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still intire, under its original Title of Lucullus.*

He published likewise this year one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject in Philosophy, his treatise called, *de Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man* ; written in Aristotle's

[e] Ergo illam 'Ακαδημίαν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidem, sed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo & Læculo alibi reponemus.—Ad Att. 13. 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam

ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli ; transtuli ad nostrum sodalem, & ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt. (nisi me forte communis φιλοσοφία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Graecos quidem quicquam simile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16, 19.

manner :

manner [f]; in which he explained with great elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of all the ancient sects on that most important question. It is there inquired, he tells us, what is the chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy: or what it is, which nature pursues as the supreme good, and shuns as the worst of ills [g]. The work consists of five books: in the two first, the Epicurean doctrine is largely opened and discussed; being defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conference supposed to be held in his Cuman Villa, in the presence of Triarius, a young Gentleman, who came with Torquatus to visit him. The two next explain the doctrine of the Stoics, asserted by Cato, and opposed by Cicero, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in Lucullus's Library. The fifth contains the opinions of the old Academy, or the Peripatetics, explained by Piso, in a third dialogue, supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of Cicero, his Brother Quintus, Cousin Lucius, and Atticus. The Critics have observed some impropriety in this last book; in making Piso refer to the other two dialogues, of which he had no share, and could not be presumed to have any knowledge [h]. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his

[f] Quae autem his temporibus scripsi 'Aq*u*s*tor*is*los* morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros *sq*ue** *tu*am**—  
ib. 19.

[g] Tum id, quod his libris queritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo sint omnia bene

vivendi, recteque faciendi consilia referenda. Quid sequatur natura, ut sumnum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum.

De Fin. 1. 4.

[h] Vid. Prefat. Davis in Lib. de finib.

A. Urk. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dicitor III.

M. AEMILIUS

LEPIDUS

Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. works, it may reasonably be excused by that  
 Cic. 60. multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him  
 Coss. time to write, much less, to revise what he wrote: and in dialogues of length, composed by piece-meal,  
 C. JULIUS and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot  
 CÆSAR Dictator III. seem strange, that he should sometimes forget his  
 M. ÆMILIUS artificial, to resume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had as-  
 LEPIDUS signed to another. He addressed this work to  
 Mag. Equit. Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind, which Brutus had sent to him a little before, *a treatise upon virtue* [i].

Not long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his *Tusculan Disputations*; in five books also, upon as many different questions in Philosophy, the most important and usefull to the happiness of human life. The first teaches us, *how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing, rather than an evil*: the second, *to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude*: the third, *to appease all our complaints and uneasinesses under the accidents of life*: the fourth, *to moderate all our other passions*: the fifth, *to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make man happy*. It was his custom, in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country; where instead of amusing themselves with idle sports or feasts, their diversions were wholly speculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the understanding. In this manner he now spent *five days at his Tusculan Villa*, in discussing with his friends the several questions just mentioned: for after employing the mornings in declaiming and rhetorical exercises, they used to retire in the after-

[i] *De Finib.* 1. 3.

noon into a Gallery, called *the Academy*, which he had built for the purpose of Philosophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held *a School*, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject, that they desired to hear explained; which being proposed accordingly by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. These five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, *in the very words and manner in which they really passed*, and published them under the title of his *Tusculan Disputations*, from the name of the Villa, in which they were held [k].

He wrote also a little piece, in the way of a *Funeral Encomium*, *in praise of Porcia*; *the sister of Cato, and wife of Domitius Abenobarbus*, Caesar's mortal enemy; which shews how little he was still disposed to court the times. Varro and Lollius attempted the same subject; and Cicero desires Atticus to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though Cicero took the pains to revise and correct his; and sent copies of it afterwards to *Domitius the Son, and Brutus, the Nephew of that Porcia* [l].

[k] In Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum Familiares—ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Graeci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tusc. Disp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissimus—post meridiem in *Academiam* descendimus: in qua disputationem habitam non quasi

narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis ut actum disputationumque est. Ib. 2, 3. 3, 3.

[l] Laudationem Porcias tibi misi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, haec mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; & velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mitas laudationem. Ad Att. 13, 48. it. ib. 37.

CÆSAR

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR Dicta-  
tor III.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS  
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. CÆSAR continued all this while in Spain,  
 Cic. 62. purfuing *the Sons of Pompey*, and providing for  
 Coss. the future peace and settlement of the Province :  
 C. JULIUS whence he paid Cicero the compliment of send-  
 CÆSAR Dicta- tor III. ing him an account of his success with his own  
 M. ÆMILIUS hand. Hirtius also gave him early intelligence  
 LEPIDUS of *the defeat and flight of the Two Brothers*; which  
 Mag. Equit. was not disagreeable to him : for though he was  
 not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either side, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceness, and violence of *the young Pompeys*, especially of *the elder* of them, Cneus, engaged his wishes rather for Cæsar. In a Letter to Atticus, Hirtius, says he, *wrote me word, that Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himself from Corduba into the bitter Spain; and that Cneus too was fled, I know not whether; nor in truth do I care [m]*: and this indeed seems to have been the common sentiment of all the Republicans : as Cassius himself, writing to Cicero on the same subject, declares still more explicitly ; “ May I perish, *says he*, if I “ be not solicitous about the event of things in “ Spain ; and would rather keep our old and clement master, than try a new and cruel one. “ You know what a fool Cneus is ; how he *takes cruelty for a virtue* : how he has always thought, “ that we laughed at him : I am afraid left he “ should take it into his head to repay our jokes “ in his rustic manner with the sword [n].”

[m] Hirtius ad me scripsit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse, & fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem ; Cneum fugisse nescio quo, neque enim curio. Ad Att. 12. 37.

[n] Peream, nisi sollicitus sum ; ac malo veterem ac

clementem dominum habere, quam novum & crudellem experiri. Scis, Cneus quam sit fatuus ; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet ; scis, quam se semper a seipsis derisum potest.

YOUNG Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, "there is nothing new, but that Hirtius has been quarrelling in my defence, with our Nephew Quintus, who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of me, and especially at public feasts; and when he has done with me, falls next upon his Father: he is thought to say nothing so credible, as that we are both irreconcilable to Cæsar; that Cæsar should trust neither of us; and even beware of me: this would be terrible; did I not see, that our King is persuaded that I have no spirit left [o]."

ATTICUS was always endeavouring, to moderate Cicero's impatience under the present government, and persuading him, to comply more chearfully with the times; nor to reject the friendship of Cæsar, which was so forwardly offered to him: and upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, what Cicero could not but own to be true, that if to pay a particular court and observance to a man, was the mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves rather

Vereor, ne nos rustice gladio velit ~~αἰματηρίας~~. Ep. fam. 15. 19.

[o] Novi sane nihil, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerri- me pro me litigasse; omni- bus eum locis facere, maxi- meque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad

Patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ~~αἴσιοις;~~ dici, quam alienissimos nos esse a Cæsare; fidem nobis habendam non esse; me vero cavendum. ~~φοβεῖσθαι~~, nisi vidarem scire Regem, me animi nihil ha- bere—Ad Att. 13. 37.

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 53.

Conf.

C. JULIUS

CAESAR Dic-

tator III.

M. AEMILIUS

LEPIDUS

Mag. Equit.

Actib. 70. &c. *whim, than be to them [p].* With the same view  
 Cie. 62. he was now pressing him, among his other works,  
 Cest. to think of something to be addressed to Caesar :  
 C. Iulius : but Cicero had no appetite to this task ; he saw  
 Caesar Di- how difficult it would be to perform it, without  
 tator III. lessening his character, and descending to flattery ;  
 M. Aemilius Lepidus yet being urged to it also by other friends, he  
 Mag. Equit. drew up a Letter, which was communicated to  
 Hirtius and Balbus, for their judgement upon it,  
 whether it was proper to be sent to Caesar. The  
 subject seems to have been some advice, about  
 restoring the peace and liberty of the Republic ;  
 and to dissuade him from the *Partian war*,  
 which he intended for his next expedition, till  
 he had finished the more necessary work of  
 settling the state of things at home : *there was*  
*nothing in it*, he says, *but what might come from*  
*the best of Citizens.* It was drawn however with  
 so much freedom, that though Atticus seemed  
 pleased with it, yet the other two durst not ad-  
 vise the sending it, unless some passages were  
 altered and softened ; which disgusted Cicero so  
 much, that he resolved not to write at all ; and  
 when Atticus was still urging him to be more  
 complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two  
 or three Letters [q].

[p] Et si mehercule, ut tu  
 intelligis, magis mihi isti  
 servijunt, si observare servire  
 est. Ad Att. 13. 49.

[q] Epistolam ad Cesarem  
 mitti video tibi placere—mi-  
 hi quidem hoc idem maxi-  
 me placuit, & eo magis,  
 quod nihil est in ea nisi opti-  
 mi civis ; sed ita optimi, ut  
 tempora, quibus parere om-  
 nes ~~realiter~~ præcipiunt. Sed

scis ita nobis esse visum, ut  
 isti ante legerent. Tu igitur  
 id curabis. Sed nisi plane  
 intelliges iis placere, mitten-  
 da non est. Ad Att. 12. 51.

De Epistola ad Cesarem,  
~~etiam~~. Atque id ipsum,  
 quod isti aiunt illum scribere,  
 se, nisi constitutis rebus, non  
 iturum in Parthos, idem ego  
 suadebam in illa epistola—  
 ib. 13. 51.

“ As for the Letter to Cæsar, says he, I  
“ was always very willing, that they should first  
“ read it: for otherwise I had both been want-  
“ ing in civility to them; and if I had happened  
“ to give offence, exposed my self also to dan-  
“ ger. They have dealt ingenuously and kind-  
“ ly with me, in not concealing what they  
“ thought: but what pleases me the most is,  
“ that by requiring so many alterations, they give  
“ me an excuse for not writing at all. As to the  
“ Parthian war, what had I to consider about  
“ it, but that which I thought would please him?  
“ for what subject was there else for a Letter,  
“ but flattery? or if I had a mind to advise, what  
“ I really took to be the best, could I have been  
“ at a loss for words? there is no occasion there-  
“ fore for any Letter: for where there is no  
“ great matter to be gained, and a slip, though  
“ not great, may make us uneasy, what reason  
“ is there to run any risk? especially, when it is  
“ natural for him to think, that as I wrote no-  
“ thing to him before, so I should have written  
“ nothing now, had not the war been wholly  
“ ended: besides, I am afraid, lest he should  
“ imagine, that I sent this, as a sweetner for  
“ my Cato: in short, I was heartily ashamed of  
“ what I had written; and nothing could fall  
“ out more luckily, than that it did not  
“ please [r].”

AGAIN, “ As for writing to Cæsar, I swear  
“ to you, I cannot do it: nor is it yet the shame  
“ of it that deters me, which ought to do it the  
“ most; for how mean would it be to flatter,  
“ when even to live is base in me? but it is not,  
“ as I was saying, this shame, which hinders

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS  
CAESAR Di-  
tator III.M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS  
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. " me, though I wish it did ; for I should then  
 Cic. 62. " be, what I ought to be ; but I can think of  
 Coss. " nothing to write upon. As to those exhorta-  
 C. JULIUS " tions, addressed to Alexander, by the eloquent  
 CAESAR Dic- " and the learned of that time, you see on what  
 tator III. " points they turn : they are addressed to a youth,  
 M. ÆMILIUS " inflamed with the thirst of true glory, and de-  
 LEPIDUS " sireing to be advised how to acquire it. On an  
 Mag. Equit. " occasion of such dignity, words can never be  
 " wanting ; but what can I do on my subject ?  
 " Yet I had scratched, as it were, out of the  
 " block, some faint resemblance of an image :  
 " but because there were some things hinted in  
 " it, a little better, than what we see done e-  
 " very day, it was disliked : I am not at all for-  
 " ry for it ; for had the Letter gone, take my  
 " word for it, I should have had cause to re-  
 " pent. For do you not see that very scholar  
 " of Aristotle, a youth of the greatest parts, and  
 " the greatest modesty, after he came to be call-  
 " ed a King, grow proud, cruel, extravagant ?  
 " Do you imagine, that this man, ranked in the  
 " processions of the Gods, and inshrinéd in the  
 " same Temple with Romulus, will be pleased  
 " with the moderate stile of my Letters ? It is  
 " better, that he be disgusted at my not writing,  
 " than at what I write : in a word, let him do  
 " what he pleases ; for that problem, which I  
 " once proposed to you, and thought so difficult,  
 " *in what way I should manage him*, is over with  
 " me : and in truth, I now wish more, to feel  
 " the effect of his resentment, be it what it will,  
 " than I was before afraid of it [s]." " I beg of  
 " you therefore, says he, in another Letter, let  
 " us have no more of this ; but shew ourselves

" at least half free, by our silence and re- A. Urb. 708.  
" treat [1]." Cic. 62.

From this little fact, one cannot help reflect- C. JULIUS  
ing on the fatal effects of arbitrary power, upon CAESAR, Dic-  
the studies and compositions of men of genius, tator III.  
and on the restraint, that it necessarily lays on the M. EMILIIUS  
free course of good sense and truth among men. LEPIDUS,  
It had yet scarce shewn itself in Rome, when we Mag. Equit.  
see one of the greatest men, as well as the greatest  
wit, which that Republic ever bred, em-  
barrassed in the choice of a subject to write upon ;  
and for fear of offending, chusing not to write  
at all : and it was the same power, which, from  
this beginning, gradually debased the purity both  
of the Romani wit and language, from the per-  
fection of elegance, to which Cicero had advan-  
ced them, so that state of rudeness and barbarism,  
which we find in the productions of the lower  
Empire.

This was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero ; all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part ; of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it : he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him ; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life ; but left by his insinuations, his railleries, and his au-  
thority, he should excite others to some act of violence : but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation ; and to be recom-  
mended by his writings to the favor of posterity.

[1] Obscro, abiciamus inus; quod assequemur & ta-  
ita; & semiliberi fallent si- cendo, & lacando—ib. 31.

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR,  
Dictator III.  
M. ÆMIlius  
LEPIDUS,  
Mag. Equit.

CICERO on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the Republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else : the restoration of public liberty was the only condition, on which he could entertain any friendship with Cæsar, or think and speak of him with any respect : without that, no favors could oblige him ; since to receive them from a master, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude : books therefore were his only comfort ; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free.

— Thus in a Letter to Cassius, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds, “ What is better then, you’ll say, of Philosophy? why, yours is in the kitchen ; but mine is troublesome to me : for I am ashamed to live a slave ; and feign myself therefore to be doing something else; that I may not hear the reproach of Plato [u].”

DURING Cæsar’s stay in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home : but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haste to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city ; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid, that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries ; and had sent

[u] Ubi igitur, inquies, philosophia? Tua quidem in convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. fam. 15. 18  
mea molesta est. Pudet enim servire. Itaque fa-

Antony

Antony back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprised at Antony's sudden return; till Balbus and Oppius eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it [x]: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body, but to Antony himself. Antony had bought Pompey's Houses in Rome, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at Cæsar's auction, soon after his return from Egypt; but trusting to his interest with Cæsar, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being disgusted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in Italy, and resolved to shew himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provoked him however to such a degree, that in the heighth of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of taking away Cæsar's life; of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the Senate [y].

D'd 2

THE

[x] Hæri cum ex aliorum litteris cognovissem de Antonii advento, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit,

idque tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias.  
—ib. 19.

[y] Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.— & ad te & ad prædes tuos milites

A. Urb. 708.  
Cic. 62.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR,  
Dictator III.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS,  
Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR,

Dictator III.

M. AEMILIUS

LEPIDUS,

Mag. Equit.

THE war being ended in Spain, by the death of *Cnaus Pompey*, and the flight of *Sextus*, Cæsar finished his answer to Cicero's *Cato*, in two books, which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to be published. This gave Cicero at last the argument of a Letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility, with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewise in his turn, upon the elegance of the composition. This Letter was communicated again to Balbus and Oppius, who declared themselves extremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly to Cæsar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus,

“ I forgot, says he, to send you a copy of what  
 “ I wrote to Cæsar: not for the reason, which  
 “ you suspect, that I was ashamed to let you see,  
 “ how well I could flatter: for in truth, I wrote  
 “ to him no otherwise, than as if I was writing  
 “ to an equal; for I really have a good opinion  
 “ of his two books, as I told you, when we  
 “ were together; and wrote therefore both with-  
 “ out flattering him; and yet so, that he will  
 “ read nothing, I believe, with more plea-  
 “ sure [z].”

## CÆSAR

lites misit——[Phil. 2. 29.] Idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum diem-  
 rum metu perturbasti——ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet —[ib. 31.] Quin his ipsas temporibus domi Cæsaris percussor ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum fi-  
 ca. De quo Cæsar in Senatu, aperte in te invehebas, questus est——ib. 29.

[z] Conscripti de his li-  
 bris epistolam Cæsari, que-

deferretur ad Dolabellam: sed ejus exemplum misi ad Balbum & Oppium, scripsi-  
 que ad eos, ut tum deferrri ad Dolabellam juberent meas litteras, si ipsi exemplum pro-  
 bassent; ita mihi rescripserunt, nihil unquam se legisse melius. Ad Att: 13. 50.

Ad Cæarem quam misi epistolam, ejus exemplum fu-  
 git me tum tibi mittere; nec  
 id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me  
 puderet tui——nec mehercule scripsi

CÆSAR returned to Rome about the end of September; when divesting himself of the Consulship, he conferred it on Q. *Fabius Maximus*, Q. *FABIUS* Cic. 62. and C. *Trebonius*, for the three remaining months of MAXIMUS, the year [a]. His first care, after his arrival, was C. TREBO- to entertain the City with the most splendid triumph, NIUS. which Rome had ever seen: but the people, instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent at the Circenian games; where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the Senate, was carried in the procession, along with those of the Gods: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to the favorite Deities, as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of it to Cicero, who says in answer to him, Your Letter was agreeable, though the show was so sad—the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddess Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour [b]. Cæsar however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City soon after with something more substantial than shews; two

scripsi aliter, ac si ἡρῷον  
όμοιοque scriberem. Bene nos novissimos menses. Suet.  
enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque scrip- J. Cæs. 76.  
fi & αἰσθανται, & tamen [b] Suaves tuas litteras!  
lecturum libentius. Ib. 51. et si acerba pompa—populum  
[a] Utroque anno binos vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne  
Consules substituit sibi in ter- Victoriae quidem ploditur. Ad  
Att. 13. 44.

A. Urb. 708. public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed  
Cic. 62. and costly wines, of Chios and Falernum [c].  
Coff.

Q. FABIUS }  
MAXIMUS }  
C. TREBONIUS.

SOON after Cæsar's triumph, the Consul Fabius, one of his Lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too, for the reduction of some parts of that Province, which had revolted : but the magnificence of Cæsar made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible ; for his models of the conquered Towns, which were always a part of the show, being made only of wood, when Cæsar's were of Silver or Ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them, the cases only of Cæsar's Towns [d].

CICERO resided generally in the Country, and withdrew himself wholly from the Senate [e] : but on Cæsar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to press him by repeated Letters, to come and give them his assistance ; assuring him, that both he and Cæsar would take it very kindly of him. He could not guess, for what particular service they wanted him, except the dedication of some Temple, to which the presence of three Augurs was necessary [f]. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the same advice, and persuading

[e] Quid non & Cæsar  
Dictator triumphi sui cena  
vini Falerni amphoras, Chii  
cados in convivia distribuit ?  
Idem in Hispaniensis trium-  
pho Chium & Falernum de-  
dit. Plin. Hist. 14. 15.

Adjecit post Hispanensem  
victoriam duo prandia. Su-  
eton. 38.

[f] Ut Chrysippus, cum  
in triumpho Cæsaris eborea  
oppida essent translata, & post  
dies paucos Fabii Maximi ligna,  
thecas esse oppidorum  
Cæsaris dixit. Quintil. 6.

g. Dio. 234.

[e] Cum his temporibus  
non tane in senatum venti-  
rem—Ep. fam. 13. 77.

[f] Ecce tibi, orat Lepi-  
dus, ut veniam. Opinor Au-  
gures nil habere ad Tem-  
plum effandum. Ad Att. 13.  
42.

Lepidus ad me heri—lit-  
teras misit. Rogat magnopere ut sim Kalend. in Senatu,  
me & sibi & Cæsari vehemen-  
ter gratum esse facturum—  
ib. 47.

him

him to return to public affairs, he consented at A. Urb. 768.  
 last, to quit his retirement and come to the City; Cic. 62.  
 where soon after Cæsar's arrival he had an oppor- Coss.  
 tunity of employing his authority and eloquence, Q. FABIVS  
 where he exerted them always with the greatest MAXIMU,  
 pleasure, in the service and defence of C. TREBO-  
 friend, King Deiotarus. NIUS.

THIS Prince had already been deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his Grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by *him against Cæsar's life*, when Cæsar was entertained at his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him; and Cæsar's countenancing it so far, as to receive and hear it, shewed a strong prejudice against the King; and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all, that remained to him. Brutus likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to meet Cæsar, on his road from Spain, *made an Oration to him at Nicaea, in favor of Deiotarus*, with a freedom, which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect, on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the *invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper [g]*. The present trial was held in Cæsar's house; where Cice-

[g] Ad Att. 14. 1. The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, take Nicaea, where Brutus made this speech, to be the Capital of Bithynia, Deiotarus's kingdom: but it was a City on the Ligurian coast, still called Nice, where Bru-

tus met Cæsar on his last return from Spain, and when he was not able to prevail for Deiotarus, Cicero was forced to undertake the cause as soon as Cæsar came to Rome. Vid. Hist. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.  
Coff.  
Q. FABRIUS  
MAXIMUS,  
C. TACIUS.

so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, and the innocence of the accused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, *that Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favor or equity from Cæsar: and that as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade Cæsar, to think any think reasonable, that he asked for him [b].* He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but I had a mind, says he, *to make a slight present to my old friend and boy, of coarse stuff indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me [i].*

SOME little time after this trial, Cæsar, to shew his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him, at his house in the country; and chose *the third day of the Saturnalia* for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations [*k*]. Cicero gives

[b] *Quis enim cuquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar?—a quo nec præsens, nec absens Rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni impetravit—ille nunquam, semper enim absenti assu Deiotaro, quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illa postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.*

[i] *Oratiunculas pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—tibi misi. Quam vetina sic*

*legas, ut causam tenuim & inopem, nec scriptio magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri & amico munericulum mittere volui levidense, crasso filo, cuiusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Ep. fam. 9. 12.*

[k] This Festival, after Cæsar's reformation of the Kalender, began on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. x.

Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. A. Urb. 708.  
 " O this guest, says he, whom I so much dread- Cic. 62.  
 " ed! yet I had no reason to repent of him: for Coll.  
 " he was well pleased with his reception. When Q. PABIVS  
 " he came the evening before, on the eighteenth, MAXIMVS,  
 " to my neighbour Philip's, the house was so C. TRESO-  
 " crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a NIUS.  
 " room left empty for Cæsar to sup in: there  
 " were about two thousand of them: which gave  
 " me no small pain for the next day: but Barba  
 " Cassius relieved me; for he assigned me a  
 " guard, and made the rest encamp in the field:  
 " so that my house was clear. On the nine-  
 " teenth, he staid at Philip's till one in the after-  
 " noon; but saw nobody; was settling accounts,  
 " I guess, with Balbus; then took a walk on  
 " the shore; bathed after two; heard the verses  
 " on Mamurra [1]; at which he never changed

[1] Mamurra was a Roman Knight, and General of the Artillery to Cæsar in Gaul; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome, who *incrustèd his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble.* [Plin. Hist. 36. 6.] He was severely chastised, together with Cæsar himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus; whose verses are still extant, and the same probably that Cicero here refers to, as being first read to Cæsar at his house. Vid. Catull. 27, 55.

The Reader perhaps will not readily understand the time and manner of Cæsar's passing from Philip's house to

Cicero's in this short account of it: but it must be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the Formian coast, near Cajetà; so that when Cæsar came out of Philip's at one, he took a walk on the shore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero's; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard Catullus's verses; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing, that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

" countenance;

- A. Urb. 708. " countenance ; was rubbed, anointed, sat down  
 Cic. 62. " to table. Having taken a vomit just before,  
 Coss. " he eat and drank freely, and was very chear-  
 Q. FABIUS.  
 MAXIMUS.  
 C. TACITO-  
 NIUS.  
 " But our discouse at table, as we eat,  
 " For tast and seasoning still excell'd our meat [n].

" Besides Cæsar's table, his friends were plenti-  
 " fully provided for in three other rooms ; nor  
 " was there any thing wanting to his freedmen  
 " of lower rank, and his slaves ; but the better  
 " sort were elegantly treated. In a word, I ac-  
 " quitted myself like a man : yet he is not a  
 " guest, to whom one would say at parting,  
 " pray call upon me again, as you return : once

[m] The custom of *taking a vomit* both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæsar to have done on different occasions, [pro Deiot. 7.] was very common with the Romans, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury, and of their health : they vomit, says Seneca, *that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit.* [Consol. ad H elo. 9.] By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully ; and by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution : [Sue-

ton. 12. Dio. 65. 734.] And the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the Athleteæ ; or the professed Wrestler's, trained for the public shews, in order to make them more robust. So that Cæsar's vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimat-ed a resolution to pass the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

[n] This is a citation from Lucilius, of an Hexameter verse, with part of a second, which is not distinguished from the text, in the editions of Cicero's Letters.

sed bene cœdo et  
condito sarmous boso, & si  
queris liberator.

" is

" is enough: we had not a word on business, A. Urb. 708.  
 " but many on points of literature: in short, he Cic. 62.  
 " was delighted with his entertainment, and pas- Coss.  
 " sed the day agreeably. He talked of spend- Q. FABIUS  
 " ing one day at Puteoli; another at Baiae: thus MAXIMUS,  
 " you see the manner of my receiving him; C. TREBONIUS.  
 " somewhat trouble som indeed, but not uneasy  
 " to me. I shall stay here a little longer, and  
 " then to Tusculum. As he passed by Dolabela-  
 " la's villa, his troops marched close by his  
 " horse's side, on the right and left; which was  
 " done no where else. I had this from Nicias [o]."

On the last of December, when the Consul Trebonius was abroad, his Colleague Q. Fabius died suddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whose office was to continue onely through the remaining part of that day. This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the Empire raised a general indignation in the City; and a Consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes which are transmitted to us by the ancients [p]; of which Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his own account of the fact.

### Cicero to Curius.

" I no longer either advise or desire you to  
 " come home to us, but want to fly some whi-  
 " ther myself, where I may hear neither the  
 " name nor the acts of these sons of Pelops.. It  
 " is incredible, how meanly I think of myself,

[o] Ad Att. 13. 52. Dio. p. 236.

[p] Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3.

" for

A. URN. 920. Cie. 62.  
Coff.  
Q. FABIUS  
MAXIMUS,  
C. TREBONIUS.

" for being present at these transactions. You  
" had surely an early foresight of what was com-  
" ing on, when you ran away from this place :  
" for though it be vexatious to hear of such  
" things, yet that is more tolerable than to see  
" them. It is well, that you were not in the  
" field, when at seven in the morning, as they  
" were proceeding to an election of Quæstors,  
" the Chair of Q. Maximus, whom they called  
" Consul [<sup>q</sup>], was set in its place : but, his  
" death being immediately proclaimed, it was re-  
" moved ; and Cæsar, though he had taken the  
" auspices for an assembly of the Tribes,  
" changed it to an assembly of the Centuries ;  
" and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new  
" Consul, who was to govern, till one the next  
" morning. I would have you to know there-  
" fore, that whilst Caninius was Consul, no body  
" fined ; and that there was no crime committed in  
" his Consulship, for he was so wonderfully vigi-  
" lant, that through his whole administration he  
" never so much as slept. These things seem ri-  
" diculous to you, who were absent, but were  
" you to see them, you would hardly refrain  
" from tears. What if I should tell you the  
" rest ? For there are numberless facts of the  
" same kind ; which I could never have born,  
" if I had not taken refuge in the port of Philo-

[<sup>q</sup>] Cæsar would not al-  
low a Consul of three months,  
so irregularly chosen, to be  
properly called a Consul: nor  
did the people themselves ac-  
knowledge him: for, as Suetonius tells us, [in J. Cæs.  
80.] when upon Fabius's en-

trance into the Theater, his  
Officers, according to custom,  
proclaimed his presence, and  
ordered the people to make  
way for the Consul, the whole  
assembly cried out, he is no  
Consul.

" sophy,

"Sophy, with our friend Atticus, the companion  
"and partner of my studies, &c. [r]"

CÆSAR had so many creatures and dependents, who expected the *bonor* of the Consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days as it happened to suit his convenience: and as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man once declared Consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular Senator [s].

On the opening of the new year, Cæsar entered into his *fifth Consulship*, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as a rival in Cæsar's favor, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and laboring to create a difference of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, Cæsar's *guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his Villa*. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the Con-

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coll.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR V.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

[r] Ep. fam. 7. 30.

[.] Vid. Dio. p. 242.  
fulship

A. Urb. 709. Fulship to Dolabella, before he went to the Parthian way : but Antony protested, that, by his authority as Augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted [t] ; and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, for having caught him in an attempt, to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his Uncle ; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Cledius [u].

CÆSAR was now in the height of all his glory, and dressed, as Florus says, *in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice* [x]. He had received from the Senate the most extravagant honors, both human and divine, which flattery could invent ; *a Temple, Altar, Priest, his Image carried in procession with the Gods, his Statue among the Kings, one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorship* [y]. Cicero endeavoured to restrain the excesses of this complaisance, within the bounds of reason [z] ; but in vain ; since Cæsar was more forward to receive, than they to give ; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach ; when he was actu-

[t] Cum Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisci-  
ceretur, Dolabellam Consul-  
lem esse jussurum—hic bonus  
Augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia  
auspicis vel impedire vel vi-  
tiare posset, idque se factu-  
rum alleveravit. Phil. 2. 32.

[u] Frequentissimo Senatu-  
—hanc tibi esse cum Dola-  
bella causam odii dicere au-

sus ea, quod ab eo sorori &  
uxori tue stuprum oblatum  
esse compreseris. Phil. 2.  
38.

[x] Quæ omnia, velut in-  
fusa, in destinatam morti  
victimam congregabantur. I.  
4. 2. 92.

[y] Flor. ibid. Sueton. J.  
Cæs. 76.

[z] Plutarch. in Cæs.

ally

ally possessed of every thing, which carried with it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium ; and wanted *to be called a King.* Plutarch thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people, to endure with patience all the real effects of *Kingly Government,* yet declare such an abhorrence to the name. But the folly was not so strange in the people, as it was in Cæsar : it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names, rather than things ; and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice ; but it was unpardonable in so great a man, as Cæsar, to lay so much stress on a title, which, so far from being an honor to him, seemed to be a diminution rather of that superior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

AMONG the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was a new fraternity of *Luperi* instituted to his honor, and called by his name ; of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this society, with the consent of his Father, though to the dissatisfaction of his Uncle ; who considered it, not onely as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest, of running naked and frantic about the Streets [a]. The Festival was held about the middle of February ; and Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, seated himself in the *Rofra*, in a golden Chair, to see the diversion of the running ; where, in the midst of their sport, the Consul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, made him

[a] Quintus Pater quartum vel potius millefimum nihil sapit, qui latetur Lupercio filio & Statio, ut certat duplice dedecore camulatam dominum. Ad Aft. 12. 5.

A. Urh. 709. the offer of a Royal Diadem, and attempted to pass it upon his head; at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole Forum; till upon Caesar's slight refusal of it, the people loudly testified their joy, by an universal shout. Antony however ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that by the command of the people, he had offered the Kingly name and power to Caesar, and that Caesar would not accept it [b].

Cic. 63.  
Caſſ.

C. Julius  
Caesar V.  
M. Anto-  
nius.

WHILE this affair of the Kingly Title amused and alarmed the city, two of the Tribunes, M. Aemilius Lepidus and Cæsarius, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it: they took off the Diadem, which certain persons had privately put upon Caesar's Statue in the Forum, and committed those to prison, who were suspected to have done it; and publicly punished others, for daring to salute him in the streets by the name of King; declaring, that Caesar himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked Caesar beyond his usual temper, and command of himself; so that he accused them to the senate, of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the City, that he really affected to be a King; but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their Magistracy, and expelling

[b] Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, corona: ascendis, accedis ad felam — diadema ostendis: genitus toto foro — te diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu rejeciebat — at enim adscribi juf-

fit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti noluisse. [Phil. 2. 34.] Quod ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur. Vell. P. 2. 56.

them

*them from the Senate [c] : which convinced people still the more, of his real fondness for a name, that he pretended to despise.*

A. Urb. 709.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR V.

M. ANTO-

NIVS.

He had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians ; had sent his legions before him into Macedonia ; settled the succession of all the Magistrates for two years to come [d] ; appointed Dolabella to take his own place, as Consul of the current year ; named A. Hirtius and C. Pansa, for Consuls of the next ; and D. Brutus, and Cn. Plancus, for the following year : but before his departure, he resolved to have the *Regal Title* conferred upon him by the Senate, who were too sensible of his power, and obsequious to his will, to deny him any thing : and to make it the more palatable at the same time to the people, he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city, of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, but by a King, on the strength of which, Cotta, one of the Guardians of those books, was to move the Senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of King to him [e]. Cicero speaking afterwards of this design, says, it was expected, that some forged testimonies would be produced, to shew, that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a King, should be called also by that name, if we would be safe : but let us make a bargain with the keepers of those Oracles, that they bring any thing out of them, rather than a King ;

[c] Sueton. J. Cæf. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 495. Vell. P. 2. 63.

[d] Etiamne Consules & Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit ? Ad Att. 14. 6.

[e] Proximo autem Senatu,

L. Cottam Quindecim virum sententiam dicturum ; ut quoniam libris fatalibus continetur, Parthos non nisi a Rege posse vinci, Cæsar Rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio. p. 247.

A. Urb. 709. *which neither the Gods nor men will ever endure again at Rome [f].*  
 Cic. 63.  
 Coss.

C. JULIUS  
 CAESAR V.  
 M. ANTO-  
 NIUS.

ONE would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers, through which Cæsar had made his way to Empire, that he would have chosen, to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and pleasures, which absolute power, and a command of the world could bestow: but in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease: he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amused a while with the splendor of his shews and triumphs, yet regretting severely in cool blood the price, that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore against the Parthians seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Ministers the exercise of an inviolous power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, against it's most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, successfull and glorious abroad.

BUT his impatience to be a King defeated all

[v] Quorum Interpres nu-  
 per falsa quedam hominum  
 fama dicturus in Senatu pu-  
 tabatur, eum, quem re vera  
 regem habebamus, appellan-  
 dum quoque esse Regem, si  
 salvi esse vellimus---cum An-

tibibus agamus, ut quidvis  
 potius ex illis libris, quam  
 regem proferant, quem Ro-  
 mane posthac nec Dii nec ho-  
 mines esse patientur. De  
 Divin. 2. 54.

his

his projects, and accelerated his fate ; and pushed A. Urb. 709.  
on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, Cic. 63.  
to the immediate execution of their plot ; that Coff.  
they might save themselves the shame of being C. JULIUS  
forced to concur in an act, which they heartily CÆSAR V.  
detested [g] : and the Two Brutus's in particular, M. ANTO.  
the honor of whose house was founded in the NIUS.  
extirpation of *Kingly Government*, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name to suffer the restoration of it.

THERE were above sixty persons said to be engaged in this conspiracy [b] ; the greatest part of them of the Senatorian rank ; but M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority ; the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS was about one and forty years old ; of the most illustrious family of the Republic ; deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first Consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people [i]. Having lost his Father when very

[g] Quæ causa conjuratis  
fuit maturandi destinata ne-  
gotia, ne assentiri necesse es-  
set. Suet. J. Cæs. 80. Dio.  
p. 247.

[b] Conspiratum est in eum  
a Sexaginta amplius, C. Cas-  
sio, Marcoque & Decimo  
Bruto principibus conspiratio-  
nis. Suet. 18.

[i] Some of the ancient  
writers call in question this  
account of Brutus's descent ;  
particularly Dionysius of Ha-  
licarnassus, the most judici-  
ous and critical of them, who  
alleges several arguments a-

gainst it, which seem to be  
very plausible. Yet while  
Brutus lived, it was univer-  
sally allowed to him. Ci-  
cero mentions it in his pub-  
lic speeches, and other writ-  
ings, as a fact, that no body  
doubted ; and often speaks  
of the *Image of old Brutus*,  
which Marcus kept in his  
house among those of his An-  
cestors : and Atticus, who  
was peculiarly curious in the  
antiquities of the Roman fa-  
milies, drew up *Brutus's ge-  
nealogy* for him ; and deduced  
his succession from that old

A. Urb. 709. very young, he was trained with great care by  
 Cic. 63. his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters,  
 Coss. especially of eloquence and Philosophy, and under the discipline of such a Tutor, imbibed a  
 C. JULIUS  
 CAESAR V.  
 M. ANTO-  
 NIUS. warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness, which is required in a consummate Orator. But Philosophy was his favorite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of *the old Academy*, yet from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of *the Stoic*; and to imitate his uncle Cato; to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, mercifull, and compassionate disposition; averse to every thing cruel; and was often forced by the tenderness of his nature to confute the rigor of his principles. While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity with Cæsar, he was constantly attached to the

Hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to son. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 18. Tusc. Disp. 4. 1.

He was born in the Consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be *Cæsar's son*; since he was but fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself: whose familiarity with his mother Ser-

vilia, cannot be supposed to have commenced, till many years after Brutus was born; or not till Cæsar had lost his first wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose *funeral oration* he made when he was *Quæstor*, and consequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 1, 6, 50. it. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi notas.

oppofite

opposite party, and firm to the interests of liberty : for the sake of which he followed Pompey, whom he hated, and acted on that side, with a distinguished zeal. At the battel of Pharsalia, Cæsar gave particular orders to find out and preserve Brutus ; being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause, that was likely to prove fatal to him : so that when Cato, with the rest of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in Afric, he was induced by Cæsar's generosity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honors, which his power could bestow : but the indignity of receiving from a Master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honors could oblige ; and the ruin, in which he saw his friends involved by Cæsar's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust, which no favors could compensate. He observed therefore a distance and reserve through Cæsar's reign ; aspired to no share of his confidence, or part in his counsils, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of King Deiotarus, convinced Cæsar, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himself free. He cultivated all the while the strictest friendship with Cicero, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times ; and in whose free conversation, he used to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy state of the Republic, and the wretched hands, into which it was fallen : till animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his Country by the destruction of Cæsar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of killing Clodius, by a maxim,

A. Urb. 709.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR V.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS.

A. Urb. 709. which he maintained to be universally true, *that those, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial.* The case was applicable to Cæsar in a much higher degree than to Clodius; whose power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him, but by an *assassination*. This therefore was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the justice to say, that he was *the only one of the conspiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, be alone against the Tyrant [k].*

C. Cassius was descended likewise from a family, not less honorable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whose Ancestor, Sp. Cassius, after a triumph and three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death by his own Father, for aiming at a dominion. He shewed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for *he gave Sylla's Son, Faustus, a box on the ear, for bragging among his school-*

[k] *Natura admirabilis, & exquisita doctrina, & singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus essem—[Brut. 26.] quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id est, ex vetere academia, philosophorum secundum fecutus es, quorum in doctrina & preceptis disserendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xylo—M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat; cum T. Pomponio venerat—*

[Brut. 15.] *tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius consilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nec scio quo pacto devenerint. [Brut. 269]*

*'Αλλ' Ἀιδονίς γε καὶ παλαιὸς ἀκηστας λέγοντος, ὃς μόνος εἶσθι Βρετος ἵπποθεσται. Καί σαρξ, προαχθεῖσα τῇ λαμπρότητῃ καὶ τῷ Φαινομένῳ καλῶ τῆς περιέτως—vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498. fellows,*

fellows, of his Father's greatness and absolute power; and when Pompey called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his presence, that if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow. He was Quæstor to Crassus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if Crassus had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria with the remains of the broken legions: and when the Parthians, flushed with success, pursued him thither soon after, and blockaded him up in Antioch, he preserved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battel of Pharsalia, he sailed with seventy Ships to the coast of Asia, to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against Cæsar; but, as the Historians tell us, happening to meet with Cæsar crossing the Hellefpon, in a common passage boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that having got intelligence where Cæsar designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in a Bay of Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a resolution to destroy him; but Cæsar happened to land on the opposite shoar before he was aware, so that seeing his project blasted, and Cæsar secured in a country where all people were declaring for him, he thought it

A. Urb. 709.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR V.  
M. AYTO-  
NIUS,

A. Urb. 7c9. best to make his own peace too, by going over  
 Cic. 63. to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the  
 Coss. Sister of Brutus; and though differing in temper  
 C. JULIUS and philosophy, was strictly united with him in  
 CÆSAR V. friendship and politics; and the constant partner  
 M. ANTO- of all his counsils. He was brave, witty, learn-  
 NIUS, ed; yet passionate, fierce and cruel; so that  
*Brutus was the more amiable friend, be the more dangerous enemy:* in his later years he deserted  
 the Stoicks, and became a convert to Epicurus; whose doctrine he thought more natural and rea-  
 sonable; constantly maintaining, *that the plea-*  
*sure, which their master recommended, was to be*  
*found only in the habitual practice of justice and*  
*virtue:* while he professed himself therefore an  
 Epicurean, he lived like a Stoic; was moderate  
 in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-  
 drinker through life. He attached himself very  
 early to the observance of Cicero; as all the  
 young Nobles did, who had any thing great or  
 laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed  
 by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil  
 war, and in Cæsar's reign; during which, seve-  
 ral Letters passed between them, written with a  
 freedom and familiarity, which is to be found  
 only in the most intimate correspondence. In  
 these Letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicurism,  
 and change of principles, yet he allows him to  
 have acted always with the greatest honor and in-  
 tegrity; and pleasantly says, *that he should begin to*  
*tink that self have more nerves, than be imagined,*  
*since Cæsar had embracedit.* The old writers assign  
 several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives  
 of his killing Cæsar: *that Cæsar took a number of*  
*Lions from him, which he bad provided for a pub-*  
*lic shew;* *that he would not give him the Consul-*  
*ship;* *that he gave Brutus the more honorable Pre-*  
*torship*

*torship in preference to him.* But we need not A. Urb. 709.  
look farther for the true motive, than to his Cic. 63.  
temper and principles: for his nature was singu- Coff.  
larly impetuous and violent; impatient of contra- C. JULIUS  
diction, and much more of subjection; and pas- CAESAR V.  
sionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was M. ANTO-  
NIUS.  
from these qualities, that Cæsar apprehended his  
danger; and when admonished to beware of An-  
tony and Dolabella, used to say, that *it was not*  
*the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom be bad*  
*cause to fear, but the thoughtful, the pale and the*  
*lean; meaning Brutus and Cassius [l].*

## THE

[l] C. Cassius in ea familiia natus, que non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Faustum, C. Cassius condiscipulum suum in schola, proscriptionem paternam laudantem — colapho percussit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Cassius — Quæstor conservavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut transgressos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet. [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it. Phil. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἕργος ἄτερνος οὐδὲμας τύχης ἐπάρειν καιρῷ γενέθω μᾶλλον, η̄ Χαίστιον τὸν πολεμών τατερίτη τριηγενῆ εἰδομήκον-

τα ἀπαρασκεύη Χαίσταρι συτυκόντα, μηδὲ ἵς χρῖσας ἀλιττ ὑποσχῆναι, ὃ δὲ οὔτος θαύλην αἰσθῆνεν ὑπὲ φόβῳ μόνῳ παραπλέοντα παραδέκει, οὐρανὸν ἐν Ράμῃ διατρέψαντα ηδη κατίθλαστον. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. 1. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæs. 63.] C. Cassius — sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves appulisset. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere mallea. iniamicum magis timeres Cæsium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.] ηδονὴ, vero & ἀταραξίας virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, & verum & probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus — dicit. εἰς οἵσις ηδίως ἄτιν τῷ καδῶς καὶ δικαιώς, ζεῦ. [Ep. fam. 15. 19.] Cassius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam quicun loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro; qui postea quam forum attigisti, nihil

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coll.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR V.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

THE next in authority to Brutus and Cassius, though very different from them in character, were Decimus Brutus, and C. Trebonius: they had both been constantly devoted to Cæsar; and were singularly favored, advanced, and entrusted by him in all his wars; so that when Cæsar marched first into Spain, he left them to command *the siege of Marseilles*, *Brutus by sea*, *Trebonius by land*; in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest courage and ability, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Decimus was of the same family with his namesake, Marcus; and Cæsar, as if jealous of a name, that inspired an aversion to Kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest; and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favors; being named by him to *the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulship of the following year, and the second heir even of his estate, in failure of the first*. He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæsar; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprized at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendor, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept *a numerous band of Gladiators*, at his own expence, for the diversion of the City; and after Cæsar's death, spent *about four hundred thousand pounds* of his own

nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum  
amplissimæ dignitatis. In  
ista ipsa aëtate metuo ne plus  
nervorum sit, quam ego pu-  
tarim, si modo eam tu probas.

[Ep. fam. 15. 16.] Differen-  
do consulatum Cassum of-  
fenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56. it.  
Plat. in Brut. App. 402.]

money, in maintaining an army against An-

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

tony [m].

TREBONIUS had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæsar's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late consulship of three months: Antony calls him *the Son of a Buffoon*; but Cicero, *of a splendid Knight*: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was conversant also in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after Cæsar's death, he published *a volume of Cicero's sayings*, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Historians have not suggested any reason, that should move either him or Decimus to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; so we may reasonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them prefer *the liberty of Rome to the friendship of any man*; and chose rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny [n].

## THE

[m] Adjectis etiam consiliariis coedis, familiarissimis omnium, & fortuna partium ejus in summum eveniis fastigium, D. Bruto & C. Trebonio, aliisque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Pluresque percursorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimus Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. [Sueton. J.

Cæf. 83.] Vid. Cæf. Comm. de Bell. civil. 1. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. 1. 44. 247. &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæsaris primus omnium amicorum fuisse, interfector fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

[n] Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

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NIUS.

THE rest of the conspirators were partly *young men*, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; partly *men obscure, and unknown to the public* [o]; yet whose fidelity and courage had been approved by Brutus and Casilius. It was agreed by them all in council, to execute their design in the Senate, which was summoned to meet on the *Ides*, or fifteenth of March: they knew that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it [p]; and there was a circumstance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be *Pompey's Senate House*, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæsar would consequently fall at the foot of *Pompey's Statue*, as a just sacrifice to the *manes* of that great man [q]. They took it also for granted, that the City would be generally on their side, yet for their greater security, *D. Brutus gave orders, to arm his Gladiators that morning, as if for some public shew*, that they might be ready, on the first no-

ter. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii — consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat?

[Phil. xi. 4.] liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic sunt narrante teste venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pæne consumitur, &c. [Ep. fam. 15. 21. it. 12.

16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae praeposuit, depulsoque dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

[o] In tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

[p] ὡς τὸν βελτίστην, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιν, προθόμαν, ὅτι ἴδιως τὸ ἱεροῦ, συντελεῖν θέματα. App. 499.

[q] Postquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus est, facile tempus & locum prætulerunt. [Sueton. 80.]

tice,

tice, to secure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and Pompey's Theater, which adjoined to his Senate-house, being the propereſt place for the exercise of the Gladiators, would cover all suspicion, that might otherwise arise from them. The onely deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill *Antony also*, and *Lepidus, together with Cæſar*; especially *Antony*; the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create fresh danger to the Commonwealth. Cassius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the two *Brutus's* as warmly opposed, and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, " that " to shed more blood, than was necessary, would " disgrace their cause, and draw upon them an " imputation of cruelty; and of acting not as " Patriots, but as the Partisans of Pompey; not " so much to free the City, as to revenge themselves on their enemies, and get the dominion " of it into their hands." But what weighed with them the moſt, was a vain persuasion, that *Antony* would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as soon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero afterwards often reproaching them in his Letters [r].

MANY prodigies are mentioned by the Historians to have given warning of Cæſar's death [s]: which having been forged by ſome, and

[r] Plutar. in Cæſ. App. 2. 499, 502. Dio. 247, 248. fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.  
Quam velle ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martii invitasſes. Reliquum nihil haberemus. Ep. [s] Sed Cæſari futura cædēs evidentibus prodigiis denunciata eſt, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

credulously,

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR V.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS.

credulously received by others, were copied, as usual, by all, to strike the imagination of their readers, and raise an awful attention to an event, in which the Gods were supposed to be interested. Cicero has related one of the most remarkable of them ; “ that as Cæsar was sacrificing a little before his death, with great pomp and splendor, in his triumphal robes and golden chair, the victim, which was a fat Ox, was found to be without a heart : and when Cæsar seemed to be shocked at it, Spurinna, the Haruspex, admonished him to beware, lest through a failure of counsel, his life should be cut off, since the heart was the seat and source of them both. The next day he sacrificed again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious ; but the liver of the bullock appeared to want its head, which was reckoned also among the direful omens [i].” These facts, though ridiculed

[i] De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. These cases of victims found sometimes without a heart or liver, gave rise to a curious question among those who believed the reality of this kind of divination, as the Stoics generally did, how to account for the cause of so strange a phenomenon. The common solution was, that the Gods made such changes instantaneously, in the moment of sacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails so, as to make them correspond with the circumstances of the Sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Div. ibid.] But this was laughed at by the

Naturalists, as wholly unphilosophical, who thought it absurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create ; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What seems the most probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by Cæsar’s friends, and the heart conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæsar upon his guard against dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons, than the pretended denunciations of the Gods.

by

by Cicero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and seem to have raised a general rumor through the City, of some secret danger that threatened Caesar's life; so that his friends being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instill the same apprehension into Caesar himself; and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually assembled by his summons in Pompey's Senate-house; till D. Brutus, by rallying those fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will, to meet his destined fate [u].

IN the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Cassius appeared, according to custom, in the Forum, sitting in their *Prætorian Tribunals*, to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Caesar's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at last with such resolution, that, through the eagerness of stabbing Caesar, they wounded even one another [x].

THUS fell Caesar, on the celebrated *Ides of March*; after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no Conqueror had ever attained before him; though to raise the mighty Fabric, he had made more desolation in the world, than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, that his conquests in Gaul had cost a-

A. Urb. 709.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CÆSAR V.  
M. ANTO-  
NIUS.

[u] Plutar. in J. Cæf.

[x] Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

A. Urb. 709. *bout a million, and two hundred thousand lives [y];*  
 Cic. 63. and if we add the civil wars to the account, they  
 Coss. could not cost the Republic much less, in the  
 C. JULIUS more valuable blood of its best Citizens: yet  
 CAESAR V. when, through a perpetual course of faction, vio-  
 M. ANTO- lence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way  
 NIUS. at last to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet  
 possession of it *above five months [z].*

He was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society: formed to excell in peace, as well as war; provident in counsil; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, *strength and elegance:* Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators, that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian says, *that he spoke with the same force with which he fought;* and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Nor was he a master only of the politer arts; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and among other works, which he published, addressed *two books to Cicero, on the Analogy of language,* or the art of speaking and writing correctly [a]. He was a most liberal Patron of wit

[y] Undecies centena &  
 nonaginta duo hominum mil-  
 lia occisa paeliis ab eo—quod  
 ita esse confessus est ipse, bel-  
 lorum civilium stragem non  
 prodendo. Plin. Hist. 7. 25.

[z] Neque illi tanto viro—  
 plusquam quinque mensum  
 principalis quies contigit—  
 Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

[a] It was in the dedick-  
 tion of this piece to Cicero,  
 that

wit and learning, wheresoever they were found ; A. Urb. 709.  
 and out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those, who had employed them against Cic. 63.  
 himself : rightly judging, that by making such C. JULIUS  
 men his friends, he should draw praises from the CÆSAR V.  
 same fountain, from which he had been aspersed. M. ANTO-  
 NIUS.

His capital passions were *ambition, and love of pleasure* ; which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess : yet the first was always predominant ; to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. For he thought *Tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of Goddesses* ; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, *that if rights and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning*. This was the chief end and purpose of his life ; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth ; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, *he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic*. He used to say, *that there were two things necessary, to acquire and to support power ; soldiers and money* ; which yet depended mutually on each other : with money therefore he provided soldiers ; and with soldiers extorted money : and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes ; sparing neither Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first Citizens of Rome ; but disdaining

that Cæsar paid him the compliment, which Pliny mentions, of his having acquired a laurel, superior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman wit, than of their Empire. Hist. N. 7. 30.

A. Urb. 709.  
Cic. 63.  
Coff.  
C. JULIUS  
CAESAR V.  
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NIUS.

the condition of a subject, he could never rest, till he had made himself a Monarch. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him; as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it; and as men shorten life, by living too fast, so by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end [b].

IT was a common question after his death, and proposed as a problem by Livy, *whether it was of service to the Republic, that he had ever*

[b] De Cæsare & ipse ita judico—illum omnium fere Oratorum latine loqui elegantissime—& id multis literis, & iis quidem reconditis & exquisitis, summoque studio ac diligentia est consecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non aliis ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæsar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conscripsit—[A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipsum, inquit, de ratione latine loquendi accuratissime scriperit—[Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] in Cæsare haec sunt, mitis, clemensque natura—acoedit, quod mirifice ingenii excellentibus, quale tuum est, delectatur—eodem fonte se hauriturum in-

telligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν ὡς ἄχει τυγχάνει. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] ipse autem in ore semper græcos versus de Phœnix habebat—

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia  
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.  
[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæsarem ad evertendam rem publicam, sobrium accessisse. [Quintil. l. 8. 2.] Abskinentiam neque in Imperiis neque in Magistratibus praestitit—in Gallia fauna, templaque Deam deois referta expilavit: urbes diruit, sepius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentissimis rapienis, ac Sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—sustinxit. [Sueton. c. 54. vid. it. Die. p. 208.]

*been born [c].* The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the settlement under Augustus, and the benefits of that government; which was the consequence of his Tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæsars with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact sum of *bis virtues and vices*, declares him, on the whole *to have been justly killed [d]*: which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest and the most disinterested in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed.

THE only question, which seemed to admit any dispute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by those, who were the leaders in it [e]; some of whom owed their lives to Cæsar; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to increase the popular odium; particularly D. Brutus, who was the most cherished by him of them all, *and left by bis will, the second Heir of bis Estate [f]*. For, of the Two Brutus's, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was *the favorite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprized people the most [g]*. But this circumstance served only for a different handle to the different parties, for aggra-

[c] Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

[d] Prægravant tamen cetera facta, dictaque ejus, ut & abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

[e] Disputari de M. Bruto solet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occi-

dendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

[f] Appian. 2. 518.

[g] Etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum & laudis societas æqua, Decimo tamen iratores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Philip. x. 7.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CAESAR V.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

A. Urb. 709. vating either their crime, or their merit. Cæsar's  
 Cic. 63. friends charged them with *base ingratitude*, for  
 Coss. killing their Benefactor, and abusing the power  
 C. JULIUS which he had given, to the destruction of the  
 CÆSAR V. giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to  
 M. ANTONIUS. it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for  
 not being diverted by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit: Cicero takes  
 it always in this view, and says, " That the Re-  
 " public was the more indebted to them, for  
 " preferring the common good, to the friend-  
 " ship of any man whatsoever; that as to the  
 " kindness of giving them their lives, it was the  
 " kindness onely of a Robber, who had first  
 " done them the greater wrong, by usurping  
 " the power to take it: that, if there had been  
 " any stain of ingratitude in the act, they could  
 " never have acquired so much glory by it; and  
 " though he wondered indeed at some of them  
 " for doing it, rather than ever imagined, that  
 " they would have done it; yet he admired  
 " them so much the more, for being regardless  
 " of favors, that they might shew their regard to  
 " their Country [b]."

SOME of Cæsar's friends, particulaaly Pansa and Hirtius, advised him always to keep a standing guard of Prætorian Troops, for the defence of his person; alledging, *that a power acquired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms*: but his

[b] *Quod est aliud beneficium — latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant servati,—tantam essent gloriam consecuti,* Phil. 2. 3.

*Quo etiam majorem ei Respub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae præposuit, depulsoque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit—administratus sum ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patris fuisse.* —ib. 11.  
 common

common answer was, *that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it* [i]. He used to laugh at Sylla for restoring the liberty of the Republic; and to say in contempt of him, *that he did not know his letters* [k]. But, as a judicious writer has observed, *Sylla had learnt a better Grammar than he; which taught him to resign his guards, and his government together: whereas Caesar, by dismissing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous solecism in politics* [l]; for he strengthened the popular odium, and consequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

He made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the publick discipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The most considerable, as well as the most usefull of them was, *that no Praetor should hold any Province more than one year, nor a Consul more than two* [m]. This was a regulation, that had been often wished for, as Cicero says, *in the best of times*; and what one of the ablest *Dictators of the old Republic* had declared to be its chief security, *not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration*; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not con-

[i] Laudandum experientia consilium est Panæ atque Hirtij: qui semper prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum armis quæsitum armis teneret. Ille dictans, mori se quam timeri malle. Vell. P. 2. 57.

Infidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum satius esse, quam cavere semper. Sueton. c. 86.

[k] Nec minoris impotenter voces propalam edebat—Syllam nescisse litteras, qui Dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. 77.

[l] Vid. Sir H. Savile's Dissertat. de Militia Rom. at the end of his translation of Tacitus.

[m] Phil. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæs. 42, 43.

venient

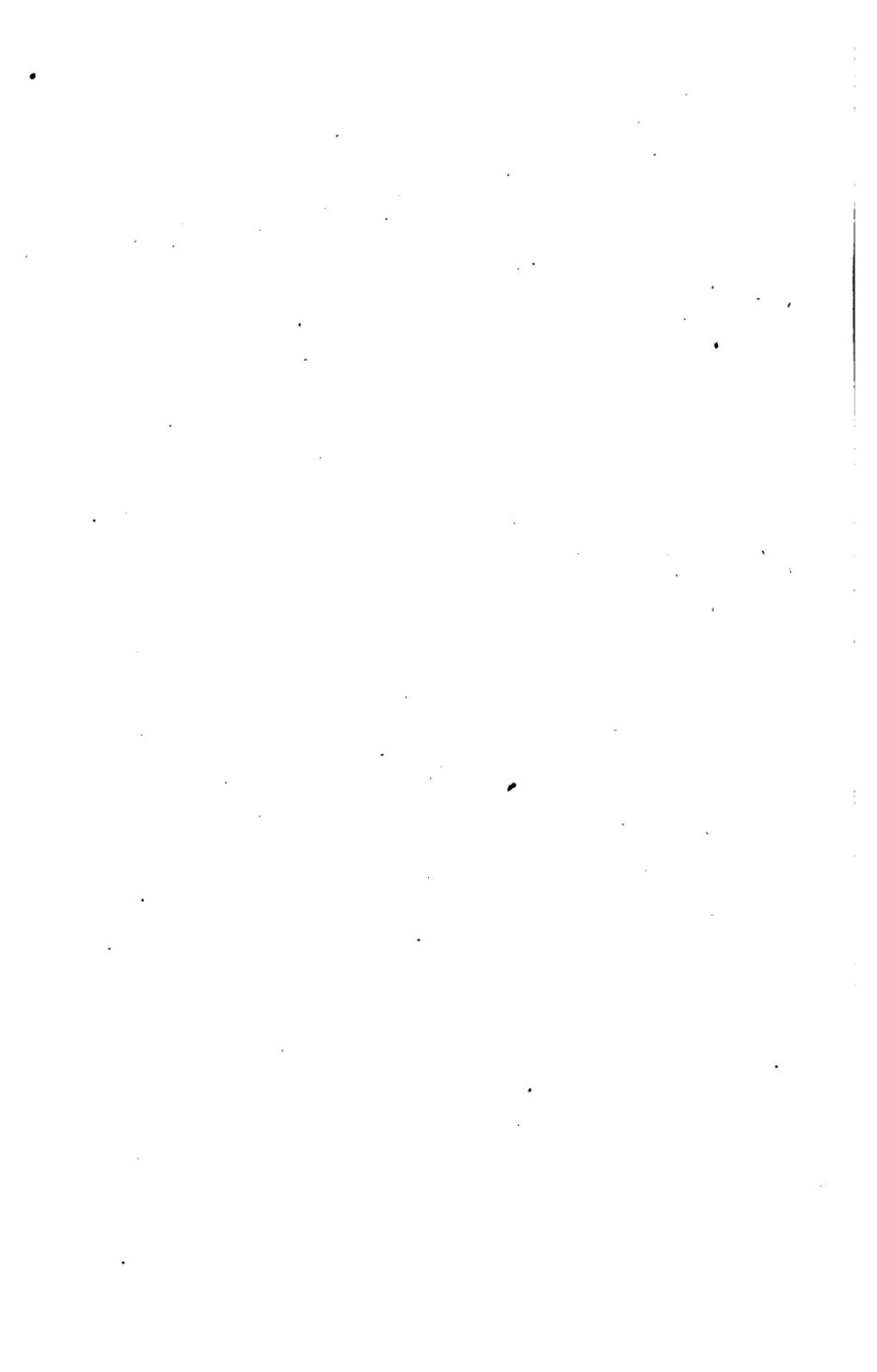
A. Urb. 709.  
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C. JULIUS  
CAESAR V.  
M. ANTO-  
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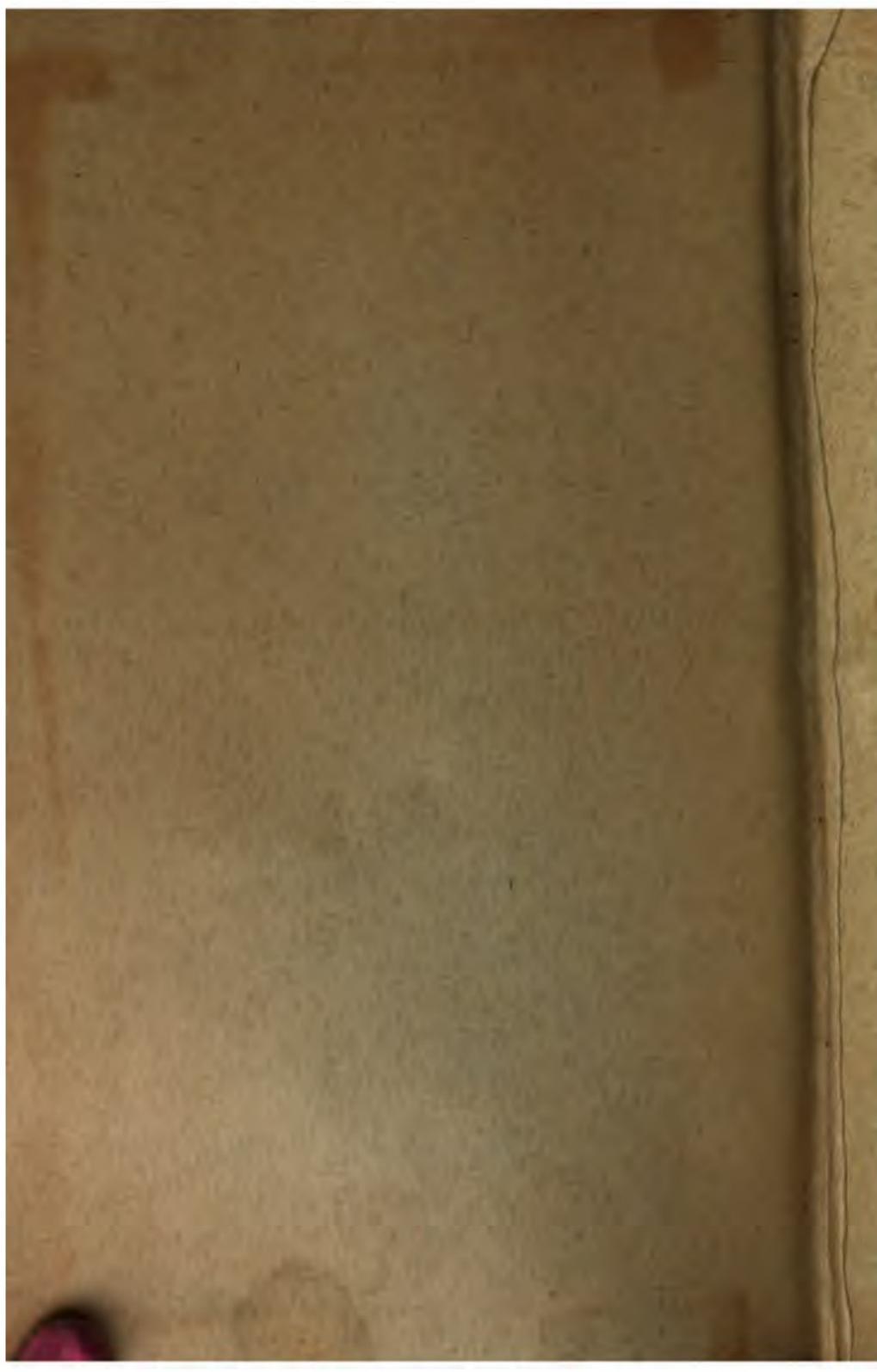
A. Urb. 709. *venient to limit them in power [n].* Cæsar knew  
 Cic. 63. by experience, that the prolongation of these ex-  
 Coſt. traordinary commands, and the habit of ruling  
 C. JULIUS Kingdoms was the readiest way, not only to  
 CÆSAR V. inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man  
 M. ANTO- the power to subvert them ; and he hoped there-  
 NIUS. fore by this law, to prevent any other man from  
 doing, what he himself had done, and to secure  
 his own possession from the attempts of all future  
 invaders.

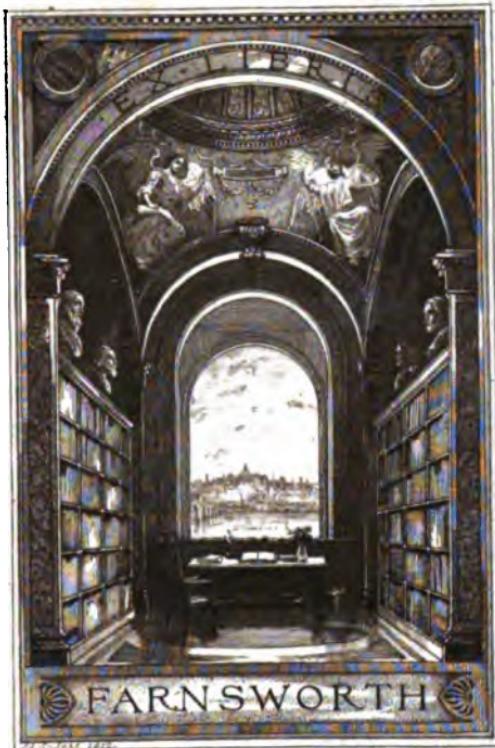
[n] Quæ lex melior, uti-  
 lior, optima etiam Repub-  
 licus flagitata, quam ne  
 Praetoriæ provinciæ plus  
 quam annum, neve plus  
 quam biennium consulares  
 obtinerentur ?—Phil. 1. 8.

Mamercus Aemilius—max-  
 imam autem, ait, ejus custo-  
 diam esse, si magna imperia  
 diurna non essent, & tem-  
 poris modus imponeretur,  
 quibus juris imponi non pos-  
 set. Liv. 1. 4. 24.

*The End of the SECOND VOLUME.*







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